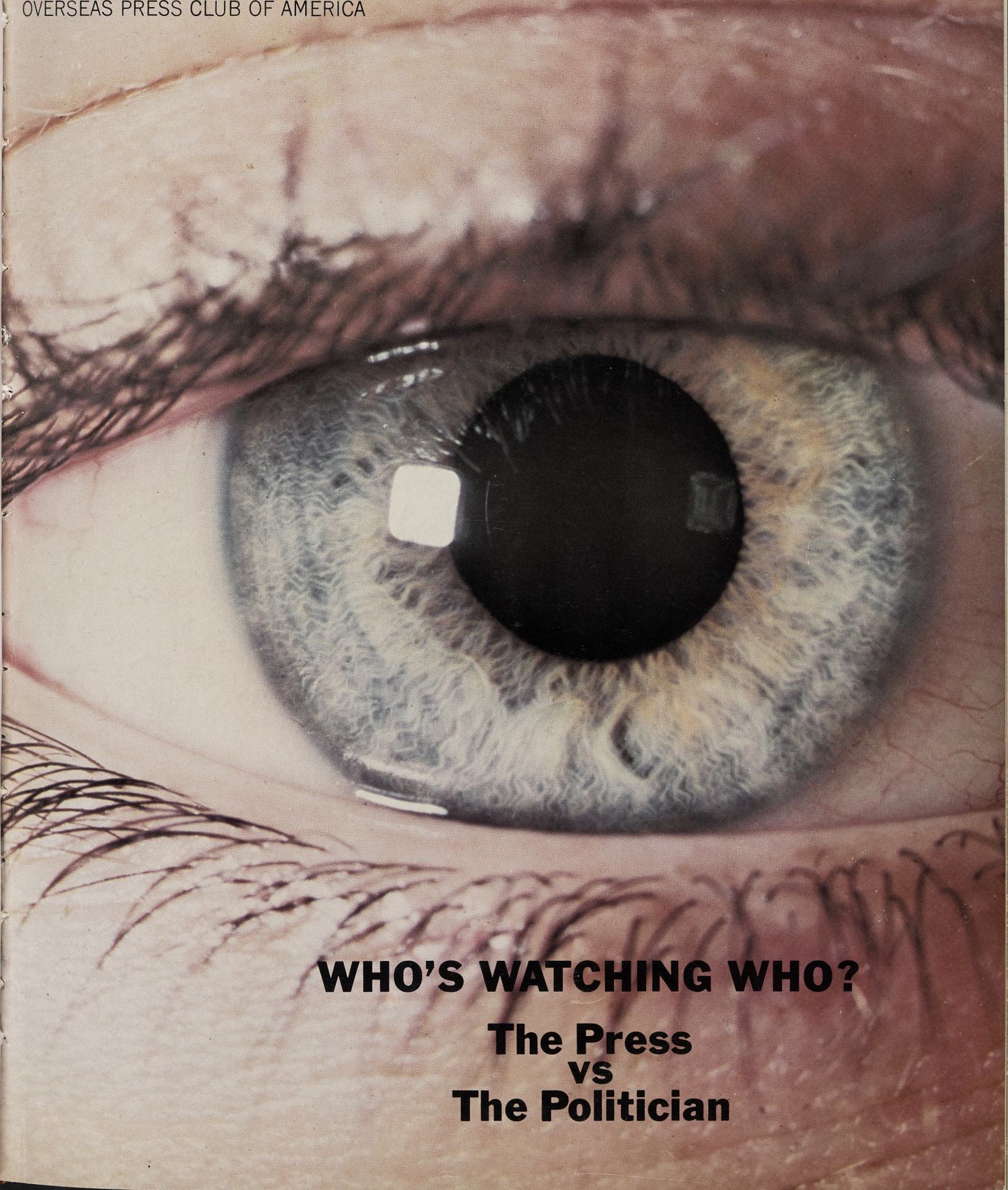


DATELINE 1970

OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB OF AMERICA



WHO'S WATCHING WHO?

**The Press
vs
The Politician**

**To see life;
to see the world;
to eyewitness great events;
to watch the faces of the poor
and the gestures of the proud;
to see strange things—
machines, armies, multitudes,
shadows in the jungle
and on the moon;
to see man's work—
his paintings, towers and discoveries;
to see things thousands of miles away,
things hidden behind walls
and within rooms,
things dangerous to come to;
the women that men love
and many children;
to see and to take pleasure in seeing;
to see and be amazed;
to see and be instructed;
Thus to see, and to be shown,
is now the will and new expectancy
of half mankind.**

The lines above were set down 34 years ago as the prospectus for a new publication. Its name was LIFE. Its name is still LIFE and the words of the prospectus remain as purposeful today as they did then. Perhaps even more so. If any word in LIFE's prospectus needs updating it is the one next to last. After 34 years we think it might be fitting to say *all* mankind.

**come
to LIFE**

AP Eyewitness to History



The stories that make headlines, the events which shape the destiny of man are all recorded in a unique volume produced annually by Associated Press men and women who are eyewitnesses to history in the making.

The AP news annual, now in its sixth year, is a large handsome book containing a 175,000-word text and hundreds of color and black and white photographs.

Only AP with its vast resources can produce such a book as this—an interesting, yearly record of our time and the people who lived it.

These volumes are now on bookshelves in tens of thousands of homes, for quick reference or for nostalgic browsing into the past. The current issue, "The World in 1969," and some back issues are available. Write to AP Newsfeatures, 50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York City, N.Y. 10020.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The New York Times reports the score for 1969 Mets 311-Moon 305



Mankind's giant leap to the moon was—who would argue?—last year's most important news story. In reporting about Apollos 9, 10, 11 and 12, The New York Times published pages of photos, charts, diagrams, transcripts of astronaut talk—and 305 stories by Times writers.

Meanwhile, back on earth, an exciting baseball pennant race led to an even more exciting playoff and World Series. When tumult ended and shouting faded, The New York Times had published 311 stories by its writers about the amazing New York Mets.

The Mets' triumph over the moon isn't that surprising. From mid-March to mid-October, the Mets played almost every day, drawing at least one story each time. But it does point up this fact: The Times knows its readers are also interested in subjects less lofty than man's going to the stars, less disturbing than the world's going to the dogs.

Accordingly, last year The Times thoroughly reported New York City's tempestuous mayoralty election—and served up 589 taste-tempting recipes. Continued its deep-digging coverage of the Vietnam war—and printed 365 bridge columns. Explained the significance of the Russian-Chinese border clashes—and offered 377 crossword puzzles.

Times readers followed their favorite stocks on the Big Board—and their favorite horses at Aqueduct. Checked out the new Bolivian government and new Bolivian stamps. Learned what was up at the White House—and what should be up in their greenhouses.



It takes a news staff of some 500 men and women to satisfy the varied needs of Times readers. The Times also subscribes to 15 news services. Times staffers and the news services pour about 2,000,000 words a day into The Times newsroom. Last year, Times editors selected enough words to fill 13,000 standard-size newspaper pages—equal to 150 books the length of "Gone with the Wind."

Singular praise

While readers enjoyed The New York Times sweeping coverage of events, professional observers singled out particular stories for journalistic honors. In 1969, Times editors, reporters and photographers won more than 30 awards for achievements in virtually every area of news coverage. Among them:

□ Martin Arnold won the George Polk Memorial political reporting award from Long Island University for his story on a New York City commissioner convicted in a kickback conspiracy.

□ Neal Boenzi took New York Press Photographers Association first prizes for news features and general news photos.

□ David Burnham captured L.I.U.'s George Polk Memorial community service award for articles on crime in New York City. These articles also won for The Times the New York Newspaper Guild's Page One crusading journalism award.

□ Charlotte Curtis received the American Newspaper Women's Club award for outstanding achievement in journalism.

□ Henry Giniger won the Overseas Press Club award for the best report on Latin America.

□ Ada Louise Huxtable was awarded the Architecture Critics Medal of the American Institute of Architects.

□ Thomas Johnson's series on the Negro in Vietnam won him the U.C.L.A. Graduate School of Journalism Dumont Award for international journalism and the New York Newspaper Guild Page One foreign reporting award.

□ Jack Manning captured New York Press Photographers Association first prizes for portrait and pictorial photos.

□ Herbert Mitgang won the Gavel Award of the American Bar Association for an article on community lawyers.

□ John B. Oakes received a Society of Silurians award for an editorial on the confrontations in Chicago during the Democratic convention.

□ Walter Sullivan won the American Chemical Society James T. Grady Award for the best news story in chemistry and the American Institute of Physics-U.S. Steel Foundation science writing award.

□ Clyde Farnsworth, Henry Kamm and Tad Szulc teamed up to cover the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and won the Sigma Delta Chi distinguished service award. Farnsworth also won the Overseas Press Club award for best business news reporting from abroad.

Excelsior

In 1969, The Times didn't rest on its laurels. It expanded coverage where news pressures demanded. With the nation's eyes turning toward domestic issues, The Times upped the number of its

news bureaus around the country. Correspondents are now based in Albany, Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Denver, Detroit, Houston, Kansas City, Los Angeles, New Haven, New Orleans, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Trenton and Washington.

And recognizing a major threat to the quality of national life, The Times created an important new post: national environmental correspondent. Gladwin Hill, whose job it is, now roams the country. His sole concern is air and water pollution, disappearing wildlife and wildlands, overcrowding in cities—in short, any change in our surroundings that makes us less us.

The basic part of The Times news report—about 30,000 words a day—reaches other newspapers through The New York Times News Service. More than 200 U.S. newspapers and over 100 abroad are clients. In 1969, 22 newspapers joined the client list, boosting total circulation to 41,000,000. The Times News Service is the third largest U.S. news service.

Three special-audience newspapers published by The Times also draw on the basic news report. The New York Times Student Weekly is distributed nationally as a classroom newspaper for secondary schools. In 1969, its circulation rose to more than 350,000. It also carried advertising for the first time. School Times is published every other week for use in upper elementary grade classrooms. It was introduced in the Fall 1969 semester with a national subscription over 250,000. The New York Times Large Type Weekly is printed in nearly quarter-inch high letters for the visually handicapped. Its circulation in 1969 was almost 13,000.

On other fronts

In 1969, The Times entered the special-interest magazine field. It bought *Golf Digest*, golf's oldest monthly. *Golf Digest* had a winning year, scoring records in circulation and advertising. Circulation is averaging over 430,000.

The Times was involved in book publishing, too. Of the dozen or so Times books last year, far and away the best seller was "We Reach the Moon" by Times writer John Noble Wilford. *Book Week* called it the "definitive book on the United States manned space effort." It sold 1,000,000 copies here and abroad. Also popular were how-to books written by Times experts: "Good Chess," "Main Dish Cookbook," "Furniture Refinishing" and "Taking Better Pictures."

Late in 1969, The Times drew on its human and archival resources to launch "The New York Times Encyclopedic Almanac—1970." The first printing of 800,000 swiftly sold out, requiring another of 100,000.

Last year The Times acquired a book publishing firm—Quadrangle Books—specializing in serious nonfiction. In 1969, it published more than 50 titles, including "The Rockefeller Report on the Americas." Arno Press, another Times subsidiary, continued publishing valuable out-of-print works. In 1969, it issued more than 600 titles. Among them: the 41-volume "American Immigrant Collection"—journals, diaries and books from the era of the vast in-pouring of people to America. And the 66-title second part of "The American Negro: His History and Literature."

In 1969, Arno Press and The Times insured that black history could be seen and heard as well as read. The first four of a film series on important black Americans became available for school purchase. Rounding out its school program, The Times produced filmstrips on current affairs that last year went to nearly 5,000 schools. Through a subsidiary, Teaching Resources, The Times created special educational materials for children with learning difficulties. And it prepared for social studies classrooms a collection of 5,000 selected editions of The Times on Microfilm, spanning the years 1854-1969.

Each day, of course, the final edition of The Times is preserved on microfilm. Nearly 3,000 libraries around the world subscribe to this microfilm edition. In 1969, The Times on Microfilm added 350 subscribers. Another valuable library tool is The New York Times Index, which tells where to find what in the news columns. Subscribers totaled 4,567 last year, a gain of about 500.

There was more to find in The Times last year: an increase in production capability broke the weekday Times out of its 96-page limits. On November 19, The Times published a 112-page edition and exceeded 96 pages on nine other days before year's end.

Advertising and circulation

One reason The Times needed extra pages was to accommodate advertisers. Last year The Times published a record number of lines of advertising: 87,443,563. An increase of 1,023,825 lines over 1968.

For the 51st year, The Times led all New York City newspapers in advertising, publishing well over half the total. And The New York Times Magazine for the first time ran more advertising pages than any other magazine in the country. The Sunday Times also carried 68 special all-advertising rotogravure magazines, a new record.

Circulation of the weekday Times averaged a new high of 940,093 over the year. The Sunday circulation was 1,488,639.

Other side of the coin

Naturally the idea in a report like this is to put best foot forward. But, admittedly, The Times did stumble every so often last year. For example, no Times sportswriter picked the Mets to finish higher than third. And a Times Editorial Page prediction of 50 years ago was proved resoundingly incorrect. In most positive terms, The Times had noted that space travel was absolutely impossible because a rocket can never travel in a vacuum. Oh well,

**you can't
win them
all.**



Some people never cash in on GM's traditionally higher resale value.

Most people don't hold on to a car for forty-one years, though. So eventually comes the time to trade or sell. And that's when you'll really be glad you bought

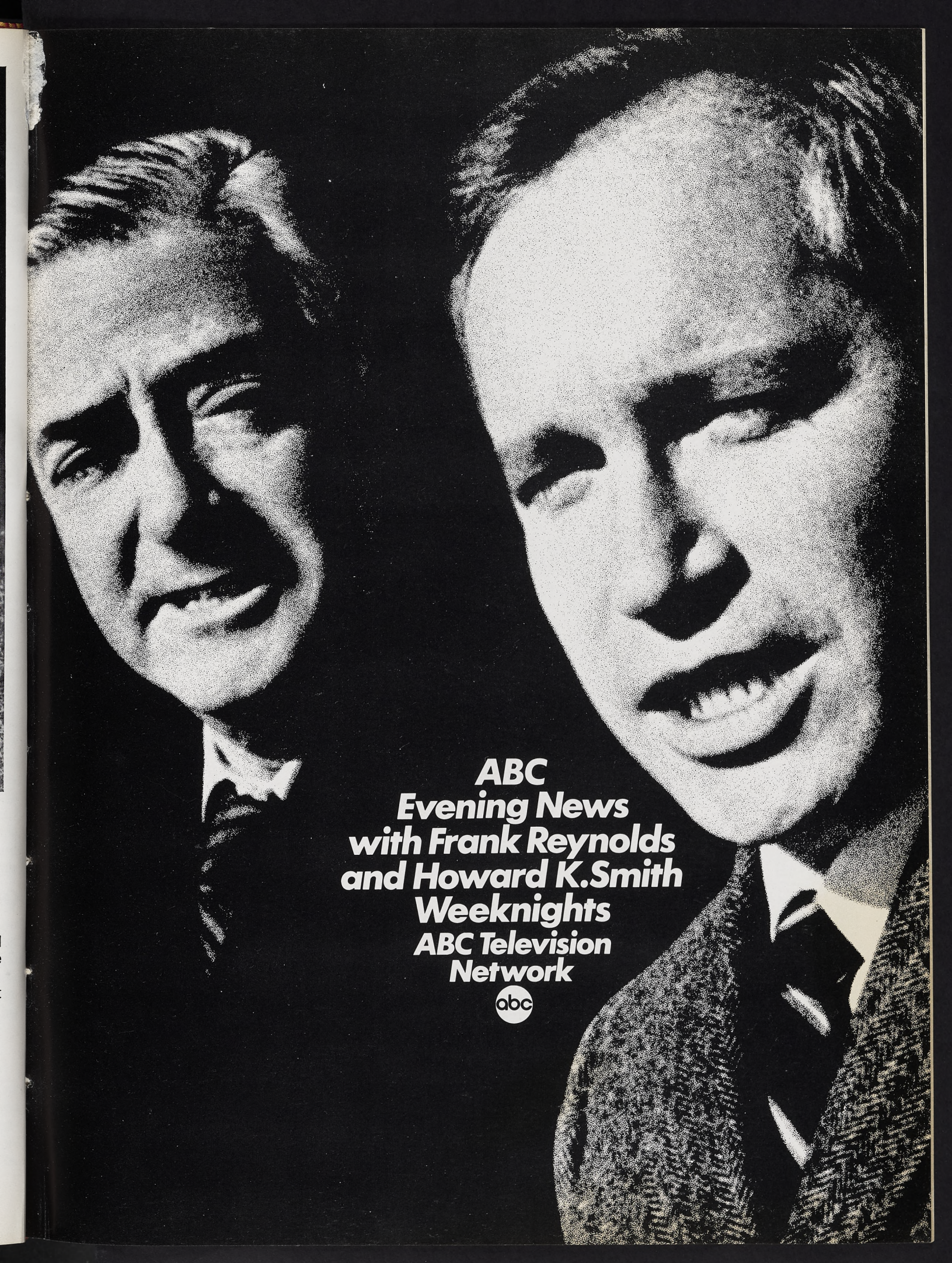
a General Motors car.

Higher resale value is a tradition with GM cars. Always has been. Right across the board: Chevrolet, Pontiac, Oldsmobile,

Buick and Cadillac. You'll find out for yourself when you're ready to trade a GM car.

Unless you can't bear to part with it.

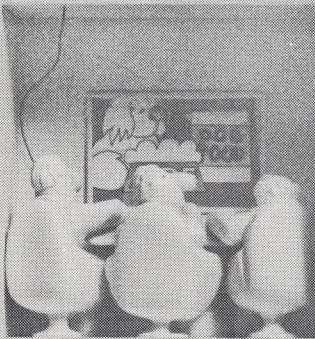
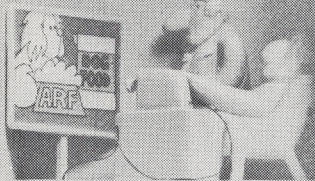


A high-contrast, black and white photograph of two men, Frank Reynolds and Howard K. Smith, smiling. They are both wearing suits and ties. The image has a grainy, high-contrast quality, typical of older television promotional photos.

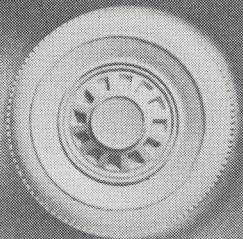
**ABC
Evening News
with Frank Reynolds
and Howard K. Smith
Weeknights
ABC Television
Network**



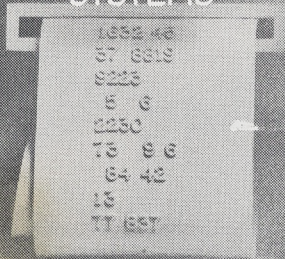
VISUAL COMMUNICATIONS



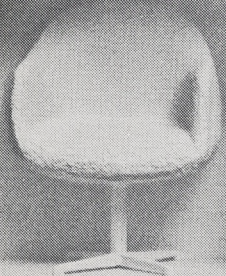
TRANSPORTATION



COMPUTER SYSTEMS



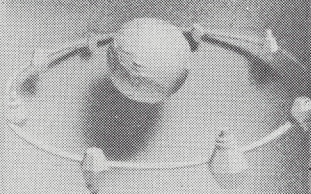
VINYL FABRICS



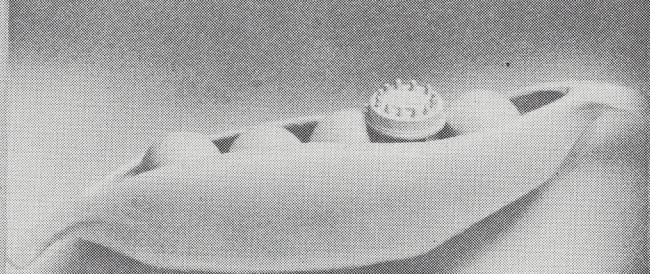
HOME ELECTRONICS



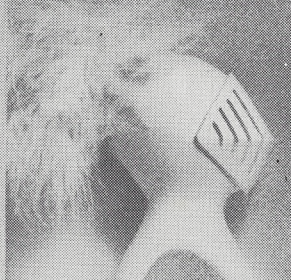
SPACE COMMUNICATIONS



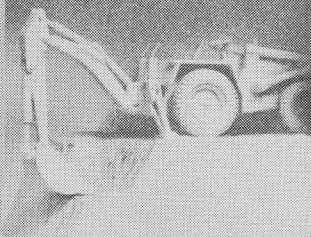
MICROELECTRONICS



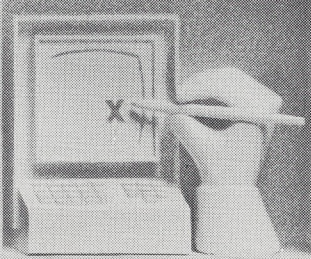
DEFENSE



CONSTRUCTION EQUIPMENT



EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS



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Working with NASA, Philco-Ford designed and maintains spacecraft command and communications systems at Mission Control Center in Houston. It takes 400 TV consoles and 60,000 miles of wire to keep flight controllers in command of Apollo flights as they carry men to the moon and back.

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DATELINE 1970

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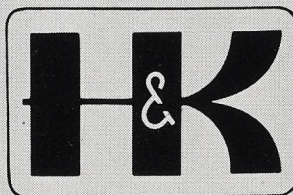
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Printed on Solitaire Gloss. Manufactured by Oxford Paper Company, New York, a division of Ethyl Corp.

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PRESIDENT'S PAGE

Chauncey M. Depew, a great United States Senator, lived way beyond 90. Every time he made it to another birthday, reporters asked him for the secret of his longevity. "I've survived," he used to explain, "by getting all my exercise as pallbearer at funerals of my friends who have exercised."

The Overseas Press Club has just surmounted its 31st anniversary in a town strewn with the tombstones of other press clubs which are celebrating no more birthdays. It has survived another year of the afflictions which bug all clubs everywhere in the nation: zooming labor, meat, drink and maintenance costs, the impossible race between heavy-footed dues and twinkle-toes inflation, the perils of going out at night. In particular it has somehow managed to live yet another year since 1968, which was the Year of the Great Embezzlement and of the Mammoth Deficit. And the year of 1969 was the year of the Imminent Eviction.

The secret? Simply refusing to take the general advice to drop dead. This advice has come from a variety of well-wishers. From mathematicians, whose computations of Clubhouse profit and loss come out red no matter what color pencil is used. From members of OPC's learned Bar who preach sedition and rebellion when a dime is added to the cost of a dollar martini selling elsewhere at \$1.60. From certain non-or never-newspapermen, admitted into the Club when the Admissions Committee was napping, who have been hoping to collect the pieces of a collapsed worldwide correspondents' club and glue them back together as a "New York Communications" bistro.

So far, such calculations have been foiled by just two things: spirit and purpose.

By spirit I mean the ingredient which impelled staff people from *Harper's* to produce for OPC the *Dateline 1970* now in your hands, as it did with *Esquire* people in '69 and *McCall's* in '68. I mean the drive which so far has induced 75% of OPC's

members to pay a stiff assessment to cover inherited back taxes. I mean the impulse for service in the hearts and heads of a hundred or so committee members who regularly get out the Club's *Bulletin*, stage and promote its forums, its special events, its cultural programs, its fight for the rights of every foreign correspondent.

As for purpose, I don't mean the mere avoidance of bankruptcy so that the local membership can continue to have a roof overhead and a bar-rail underfoot. The point is to preserve something called the Overseas Press Club and its World Press Center—to shore them up and make them better than ever.

In this, the objective is not size. The objective is quality. About 10% of the membership has resigned since the dark time of the Great Embezzlement. This fractional exodus creates a major financial problem, perhaps, but not a major spiritual one—because the bulk of those who went over the side should not have been permitted on board in the first place.

There were good names, however, even some great names, on the list of the departed. Those we sorely miss, not for their dues but for their interrupted involvement in OPC's high professional goals.

We want them back. We also want more of the younger generations of newsmen of all media, the crops that have lately been to war or have been fighting on domestic newsfronts. This is a mission to be accomplished by the next OPC Administration which is now in the process of being elected.

Another goal is finally and forever to take OPC out of massive real estate, catering, office rental and other irrelevant side lines and move into compact headquarters where every square foot is applied to our real and original purpose: a club for newscraftsmen, with the accent on fellowship and on service to other newsmen, to the country and to the free world.

—Hal Lehrman

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Packaging affiliations around the world and over 200 plants to serve you.



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Can Company

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"You're not a news magazine. How come you're always in the news?"

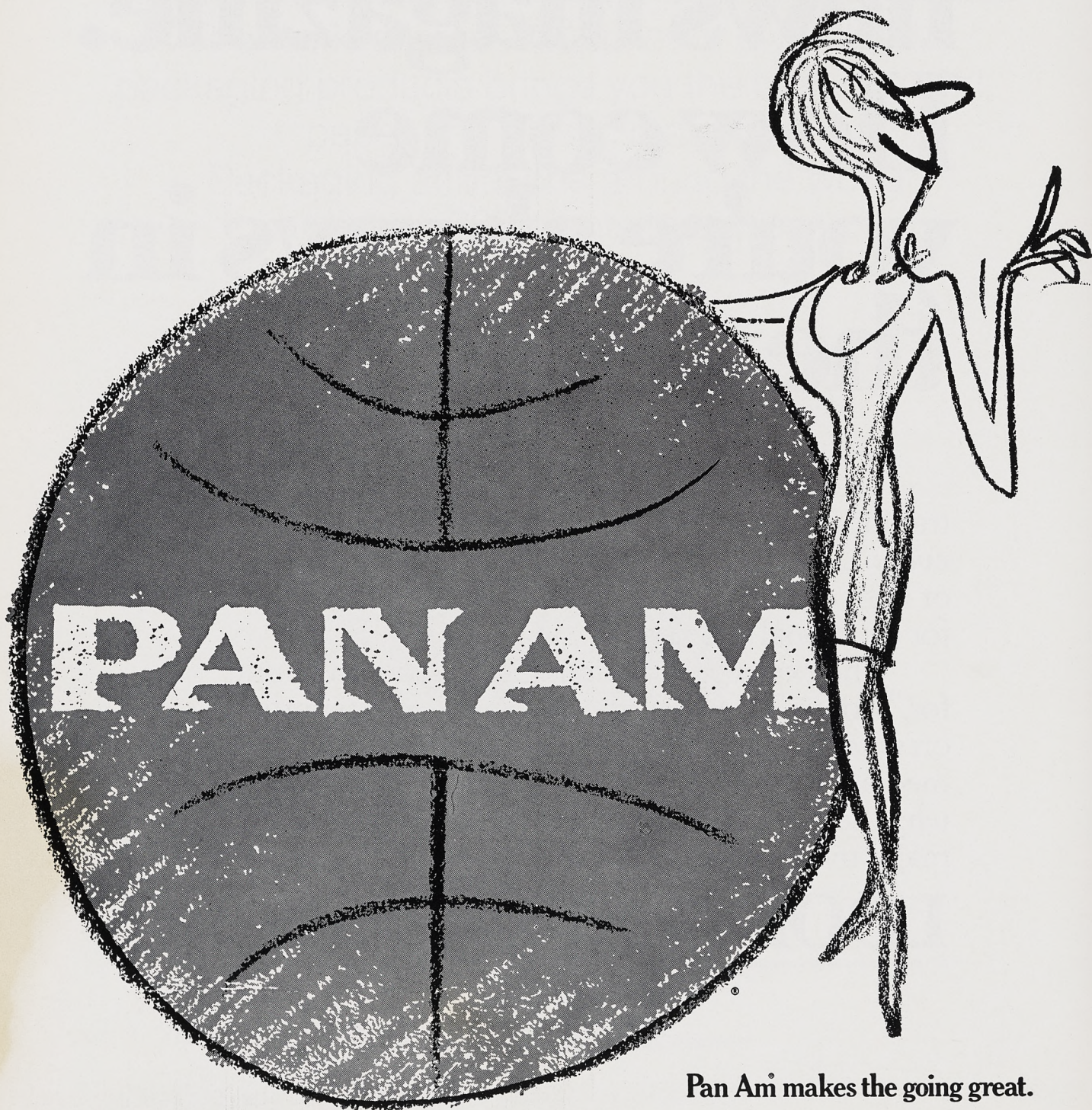
True, LOOK is *not* a news magazine. Not in the traditional sense. Yet one or more articles in *every* LOOK issue last year was picked up by one or both of the major wire services (AP, UPI) for a national news story.

The explanation is simple. LOOK doesn't hunt for "scoops." It *creates* them. It leaves the reports on *what* is happening to the thousands of news-oriented media. LOOK concentrates instead on *why* these things are happening. And it's the only major medium today to do so.

LOOK. You'll see why.

A Publication of Cowles Communications, Inc.

Put on your get-up. And go.



Pan Am makes the going great.

THE OVERSEAS PRESS CLUB AWARDS

Class 1: Best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad.

WINNER: *William K. Tuohy*,
The Los Angeles Times
for his wide-ranging coverage
of the Middle East—
“BEIRUT COVERAGE”

CITATION: *Peter Arnett*, The Associated Press
for his continually high-caliber
reporting from Vietnam—
“PETER ARNETT”

Class 2: Best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs.

WINNER: *Max Frankel*, The New York Times
for “INTERPRETATIONS OF
FOREIGN AFFAIRS”

CITATIONS: *John K. Cooley*,
The Christian Science Monitor
for “SELECTION OF
MIDEAST COVERAGE”
John Griffin, The Honolulu Advertiser
for “MICRONESIA”

Class 3: Best daily newspaper or wire service photographic reporting from abroad.

WINNER: *Horst Faas*, The Associated Press
for “SELECTED PICTURES”

Class 4: Best photographic reporting or interpretation from abroad in magazine or book.

WINNER: *Marc Riboud*, Look Magazine
for “COMMUNIST
NORTH VIETNAM”

CITATION: *Al Clayton*, Look Magazine
for “BIAFRA”

Class 5: Best radio reporting from abroad.

WINNER: *Steve Bell*,
American Broadcasting Company
for “COVERAGE OF PRESIDENT
NIXON'S TRIP”

CITATION: *Edward J. de Fontaine*,
Westinghouse News
for “THE WEST GERMAN
ELECTION”

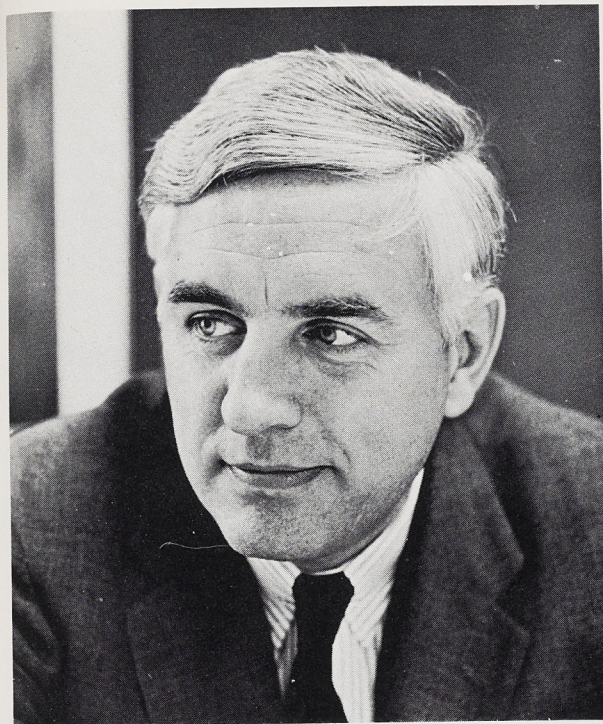
- Class 6:* Best radio interpretation of foreign affairs.
 WINNER: *Alexander Kendrick*, CBS News
 for "ALEXANDER KENDRICK
 COMMENTARY"
 CITATION: *Elie Abel*, NBC News
 for "THE WORLD
 AND WASHINGTON"
- Class 7:* Best TV reporting from abroad.
 WINNER: *Don Baker*,
 ABC-TV
 for "BOLD MARINER,"
 "TWINKLETOES," "ATLAS
 WEDGE," "TRAP BAITED."
 Reports from Vietnam battlefronts.
 CITATION: *Charles Collingwood*, CBS
 for "A TIMETABLE for VIETNAM"
- Class 8:* Best TV interpretation of foreign affairs.
 WINNER: *NBC-TV News*
 for "RUSSIA IN
 THE MEDITERRANEAN"
 CITATION: *Charles Collingwood*, CBS-TV
 for "A TIMETABLE for VIETNAM"
- Class 9:* Best magazine reporting from abroad.
 WINNER: *Christopher S. Wren*, Look Magazine
 for "GREECE: GOVERNMENT
 BY TORTURE"
 CITATION: *Arnaud de Borchgrave*,
 Newsweek Magazine
 for "A TALK WITH PRESIDENT
 NASSER . . . A REPLY
 FROM ESHKOL"
- Class 10:* Best magazine interpretation of foreign affairs.
 WINNER: *Carl Rowan*, Reader's Digest
 (JOINT) for "WHICH WILL BE
 THE NEXT VIETNAM?"
Norman Cousins, Look Magazine
 for "HOW THE U.S. SPURNED
 THREE CHANCES FOR PEACE
 IN VIETNAM"
 CITATION: *Carey McWilliams*, The Nation
 for "BELFAST: 'IN
 GLORIOUS REMEMBRANCE' "
- Class 11:* Best book on foreign affairs.
 WINNER: *Townsend Hoopes*,
 McKay Co.
 for "LIMITS OF INTERVENTION"
 CITATION: *Robert Shaplen*,
 Harper & Row
 for "TIME OUT OF HAND"

- Class 12:* Best cartoon on foreign affairs.
 WINNER: *Paul Conrad*,
 Register and Tribune Syndicate
 for "U.S. TROOPS CONTINUE
 TO BE WITHDRAWN
 FROM SOUTH VIETNAM"
 CITATION: *Tom Darcy*, Newsday
 for "PRISONER OF WAR"
- Class 13:* Vision Magazine—Ed Stout Award
 for best article or report on Latin America
 (any medium).
 WINNER: *John M. Goshko*, Washington Post
 for "SERIES OF REPORTS
 ON LATIN AMERICA"
 CITATIONS: *Don Bohning & William Montalbano*,
 Miami Herald
 for "COVERAGE OF
 LATIN AMERICA"
Penny Lernoux, The Copley Press
 for "SELECTED ARTICLES
 ON SOUTH AMERICA"
- Class 14:* E. W. Fairchild Award for best business news
 reporting from abroad (any medium).
 WINNER: *Philip W. Whitcomb*,
 The Christian Science Monitor
 for "ARTICLES ON
 THE FRENCH ECONOMY"
- Class 15:* The Asia Award for the best article
 or report on Asia (any medium)
 WINNER: *Arnold C. Brackman*,
 Morton
 for book "THE COMMUNIST
 COLLAPSE IN INDONESIA"
 CITATIONS: *CBS-TV News*
 for "THE JAPANESE"
Robert Shaplen,
 Harper & Row
 for "TIME OUT OF HAND"
- Class 16:* Robert Capa Award for superlative still
 photography requiring exceptional courage
 and enterprise abroad.
 WINNER: *Anonymous Czech photographer*,
 Look Magazine
 for "A DEATH TO REMEMBER"
- Class 17:* OPC George Polk Memorial Award for best
 reporting, any medium, requiring exceptional
 courage and enterprise abroad.
 WINNER: *Horst Faas & Peter Arnett*,
 The Associated Press for
 "THE STORY OF COMPANY A"

For their loyal support at present and in past years, the Overseas Press Club extends acknowledgement and gratitude to the donors of the cash amounts and the medallion accompanying five classifications among its annual awards for 1969, as follows:

Honoraria of \$500 each are provided by CBS for the OPC George Polk Award; E.W. Fairchild for the best

business news reporting from abroad; *Vision* magazine for the Ed Stout Award for the best report on Latin America; the National Cartoonists Society (\$100), the *New York Daily News* and the *New York Times* (\$200 each) for the best cartoon on foreign affairs; and *Life* magazine, for the Robert Capa gold medal for still photography.



William K. Tuohy

CLASS 1

WILLIAM K. TUOHY

Best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad

As foreign news attention has broadened from its almost exclusive "fix" on Vietnam to include the renewed and increased hostilities between Israel and the Arab nations, so have the reporting talents of *Los Angeles Times* correspondent William K. Tuohy.

Last year, his reportage of Vietnam earned him the Pulitzer Prize. This year, OPC judges selected him as winner of the award for best daily newspaper or wire service reporting from abroad for his "wide-ranging coverage of the Middle East."

Tuohy, Beirut bureau chief for the *Times* since December 1968, is regarded as one of the most knowledgeable correspondents in both the Middle East and Far East. He covered the Vietnam conflict both as a *Times* reporter and *Newsweek's* Saigon bureau chief, over a four-year period. As *Newsweek* assistant national affairs editor, Tuohy wrote cover stories on such subjects as President Kennedy, Senator Goldwater, and the missile crisis. He also was the magazine's national political correspondent covering the Republican Presidential campaign. He started his reporting career with the *San Francisco Chronicle* in 1952, after his graduation from Northwestern University. He was born in Chicago in 1926.

His byline has appeared in *Reader's Digest*, the *New York Times Magazine*, *Ladies Home Journal*, *Pageant*, the *Washington Post*, and the *New York Herald Tribune*.

JUDGES: Angelo Natale, Edwin Tetlow, Whitman Bassow



Max Frankel

CLASS 2

MAX FRANKEL

Best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs

A new administration settling into Washington is a natural magnet for the news analyst. *New York Times* Washington Bureau Chief, Max Frankel's assessment of the Nixon Administration's foreign policies brought admiration from his colleagues and the OPC's award for best daily newspaper or wire service interpretation of foreign affairs.

Frankel, a longtime *Times* veteran, has been in Washington since 1961. He spent two years as White House correspondent and bureau head in late 1968. Before moving to the capital his major assignments were abroad; most notably, coverage of the Hungarian and Polish uprisings in the late fifties, a three-year tour in Moscow which included a wide-ranging trip to Siberia, and duty in the Caribbean which covered, among other things, the Bay of Pigs. He also covered UN news.

Born in Gera, Germany, in 1930, Frankel came to the United States with his family in 1939 after they had been deported by the Nazis. He was educated in New York City and graduated from Columbia College. There he had been editor of the student newspaper, *The Spectator*, and campus correspondent for the *Times*. He joined the *Times* as a full-time correspondent after graduation.

In 1964, Frankel was the OPC winner in this same category.

JUDGES: John Luter, Prof. John Hohenberg,
Prof. John Tebbel

CLASS 3

HORST FAAS

Best daily newspaper or wire service photographic reporting from abroad

If there's anything that matches the consistent quality of Horst Faas' news pictures, it would be his luck and longevity on the world's most dangerous news beat.

The famed Associated Press photographer has covered Vietnam since 1962, an unusually long time for combat assignment. During that time he has collected just about all the major news photography awards—the OPC Robert Capa Medal, the Pulitzer Prize, the Long Island University George Polk Award, the National Headliners Club Award, and this year, the OPC's award for best daily newspaper or wire service photographic reporting from abroad. He has also branched out into writing, and his byline often appears over AP copy. In this capacity, he shares with Peter Arnett of AP, this year's OPC George Polk Memorial Award, making him the sole double-winner on the Club's awards roster of 1970.

Faas has many times narrowly escaped injury or death in battlefield actions, causing one Vietnamese general to describe him as "the luckiest man alive." He did receive shrapnel wounds while on a U.S. 1st Infantry Division patrol in December, 1967, which hospitalized him for several weeks.

"Why do I stay in Vietnam?

The answer is always the same. "It's the story?"

He is a Berlin-born West German citizen who joined the AP in 1956 as a photographer for the Bonn bureau. The news service sent him to the Congo in 1960, and later to Algeria. While his principal work has been in Vietnam for the past eight years, he has taken time out for other stories, such as his dramatic series of photographs of the famine in India.

JUDGES: Ann Zane Shanks, Ralph Morse, Paul Fusco,
Ezra Stoller



Horst Faas

CLASS 4

MARC RIBOUD

**Best photographic reporting or interpretation
from abroad in magazine or book**

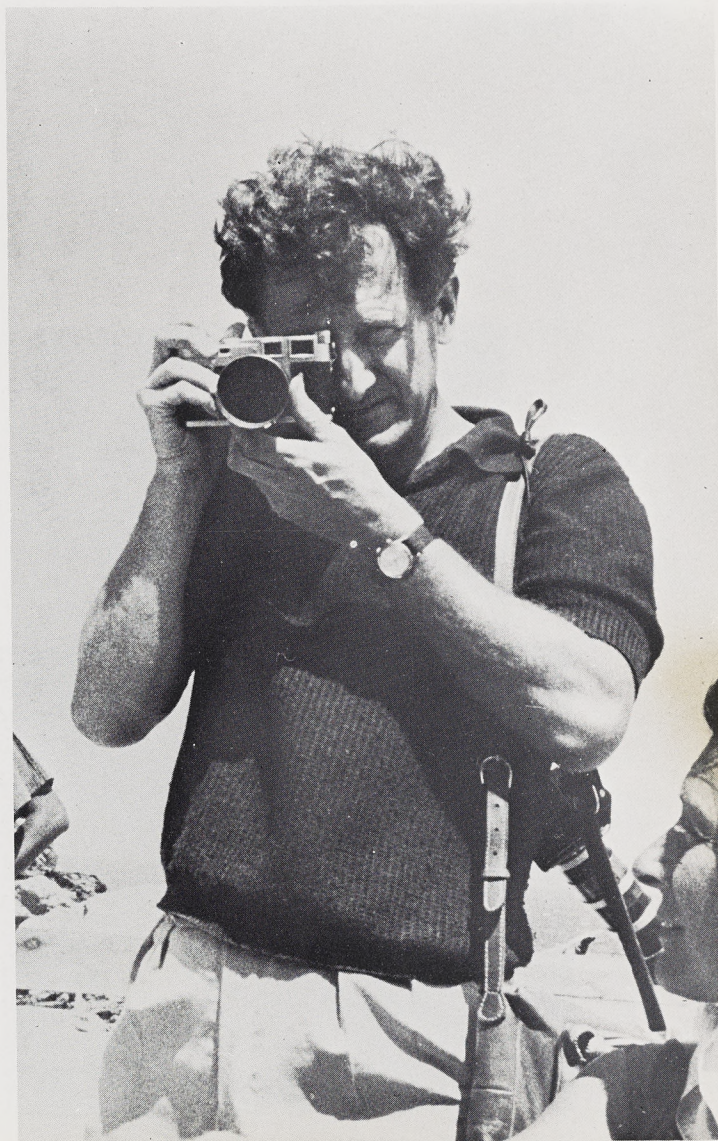
Marc Riboud was the last European journalist to interview and photograph Ho Chi Minh. His photos of North Vietnam and this interview appeared in *Look* magazine and earned him his second OPC award. In 1966 Riboud won in the same category with his book *The Three Banners of China* (MacMillan, 1965).

Born in Lyons, France in 1923, Riboud fought with the Resistance and the French Army during World War II and went on to earn an engineering degree at Lyons in 1948. He started his photography career in 1952, and in 1954 joined Magnum Photos at the invitation of Henri-Cartier-Bresson and Robert Capa.

He has covered stories on most every continent, ranging from the exotic coronation of the King of Nepal and the descent of the Swiss Mount Everest expedition, to the turmoil of the emerging African nations and Maoist China.

More than on-the-scene snapshots, Riboud's photos have won critical acclaim for their artistic excellence. He has had one-man shows at the Art Institute in Chicago, Asia House in New York, Gallery Delpire in Paris and has been a contributor to shows at the Museum of Modern Art and the Metropolitan Museum in New York, the Institute of Contemporary Arts in London, and Eastman House.

A resident of Paris, where he lives with his wife, the sculptor Barbara Chase, and their two sons, Riboud is the author of several books. A book on his recent North Vietnamese journey, *Face of North Vietnam*, will be published by Holt, Rinehart & Winston in the fall of 1970.



Marc Riboud

JUDGES: Ann Zane Shanks, John G. Morris,
Charles E. Rotkin



Steve Bell

CLASS 5

STEVE BELL

Best radio reporting

When President Nixon took his round-the-world trip last year and began to enunciate America's new Asian policy, Steve Bell was there with the news radio reports that earned him this award.

When the kids and the cops were on Michigan Avenue in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic Party Convention, Bell was with them.

When Robert Kennedy began his fatal walk through the kitchen of the Ambassador Hotel on June 5, 1968, Steve Bell was right behind him.

When Newark blew up in a frenzy of rioting in 1967, Bell's reports were called by *Variety* "one of the most moving—and chilling—examples of on-the-scene radio reporting."

Bell's ubiquity is backed up by a solid academic background. He holds a B.A. in history and political science from Central College in Pella, Iowa and an M.S. in journalism from Northwestern. He also boasts an honorary doctorate in journalism from Central.

His sensitivity to history and politics earned him a unique honor when his reminiscences of the 1968 Kennedy campaign were included in the official family memorial volume on Robert Kennedy. (*An Honorable Profession*, Doubleday).

Beginning his broadcasting career at a hometown station in Oskaloosa, Iowa, Bell moved to local stations in Chicago, Omaha, and New York. He joined ABC in May of 1967 and has been on the road ever since. Being Steve Bell, he's now in the center of things again at the network's Saigon bureau.

This is his first major journalism award, but it's certain that Steve Bell's voice is one that will be heard again—from wherever the action is.

JUDGES: Russell Tornabene, Richard Rosse, Tom O'Brien, James Quigley, Mike Stein, George Brown



Alexander Kendrick

CLASS 6

ALEXANDER KENDRICK

Best radio interpretation of foreign affairs

Copy-boy, reporter, columnist, Nieman Fellow, Washington newsman and foreign correspondent—there isn't much Alexander Kendrick hasn't done in print or journalism. And, as creator of a recent best seller, he has become an author as well.

Starting as copy-boy with the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Kendrick worked his way through almost every job on the editorial side during his 17 years on the staff, with time out for a Nieman fellowship as well. It was as correspondent in Moscow for the *Inquirer* in 1943 that he covered the Soviet advance into Poland and delivered one of the first eyewitness accounts of the Lublin death camp.

Reassigned to Washington, Kendrick joined the *Chicago Sun* and returned to Europe for a short postwar stint with that newspaper. He joined CBS News as Vienna correspondent in 1948. Two years later he moved to Washington, and in 1951 he returned to Vienna to report on the European satellite nations. He transferred to London in 1954 and became chief of the CBS London Bureau in 1959.

Among his notable London assignments were President Eisenhower's Asia-Africa tour, President Kennedy's European tour, and the great continuing story of British politics and East-West diplomacy from a London perspective. He was also invited back to the U.S. to contribute analysis to CBS's coverage of the Presidential nominating conventions in 1960 and 1964.

Lately Kendrick has found time to write a book about a fellow journalist and long time personal friend, *Prime Time: The Life of Edward R. Murrow* (Little, Brown, 1969).

Currently based in New York, Alexander Kendrick is a regular contributor to "The World Tonight" and is the anchorman of "The World This Week," where his award-winning radio interpretations of foreign affairs have been broadcast.

In 1962, Kendrick was the OPC winner in this same category.

JUDGES: Russell Tornabene, Richard Rosse, Tom O'Brien, James Quigley, Mike Stein, George Brown

CLASS 7

DON BAKER

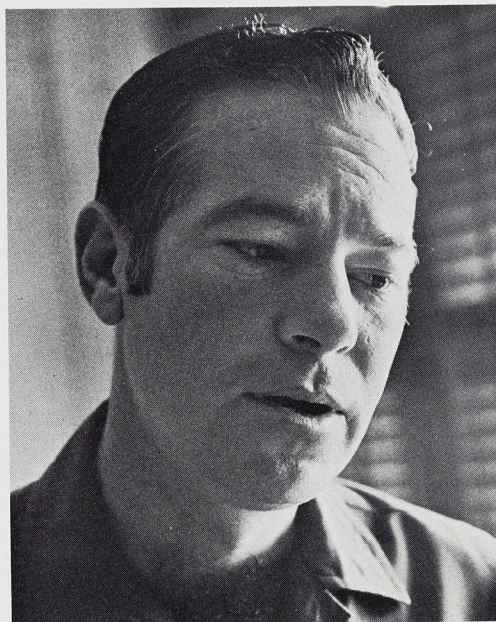
Best TV reporting from abroad

"Bold Mariner" could describe Don Baker, though it is actually the title of one of four battlefield reports from Vietnam which earned him this OPC award. Not one who is afraid to get his feet dirty, Baker has always managed to get a little closer and find out a little more in order to cover a story.

His reports from the battlefield show the kind of initiative typical of Baker's "second effort" brand of journalism. In the early '60's, for instance, while everyone else was on the beach in Florida reporting the approach of a hurricane, Baker hitched a ride on a Navy hurricane-hunter plane and made the first live radio broadcast from the eye of a hurricane over Miami's WIOD.

Married, with two daughters, Mr. Baker is a veteran of the Coast Guard. He attended Tulane University and later the University of Florida in Gainesville where his career began as a disc-jockey on the campus station.

From Gainesville, Baker moved to local stations in Ocala, Leesburg, Orlando, and Miami. While in Florida he reported on the Cuban invasion in 1961, the returned ransom Bay of Pigs prisoners in 1962, and the National Governors' Conference in 1965.



Don Baker



George Murray



Elie Abel

He joined ABC in April of 1967, and that spring and summer covered the anti-war marches in New York and Washington, as well as the riots in Newark. His reports were notable enough to earn him the job of covering Vice President Humphrey's Southeast Asian tour only seven months after he signed on with the network.

In February of 1968, Don Baker left for Saigon. Since then his reports from the front, including those which earned him this OPC award, have been aired regularly on the ABC Evening News. Although he is a newcomer to the list of major journalism award winners, Don Baker's knack for getting to the center of the turbulence around him will no doubt place him there again.

JUDGES: Howard Kany, James Harper, Donald Coe

CLASS 8

**NBC News team of
GEORGE MURRAY, ELIE ABEL,
DEAN BRELIS, WILSON HALL**

Best television interpretation of foreign affairs

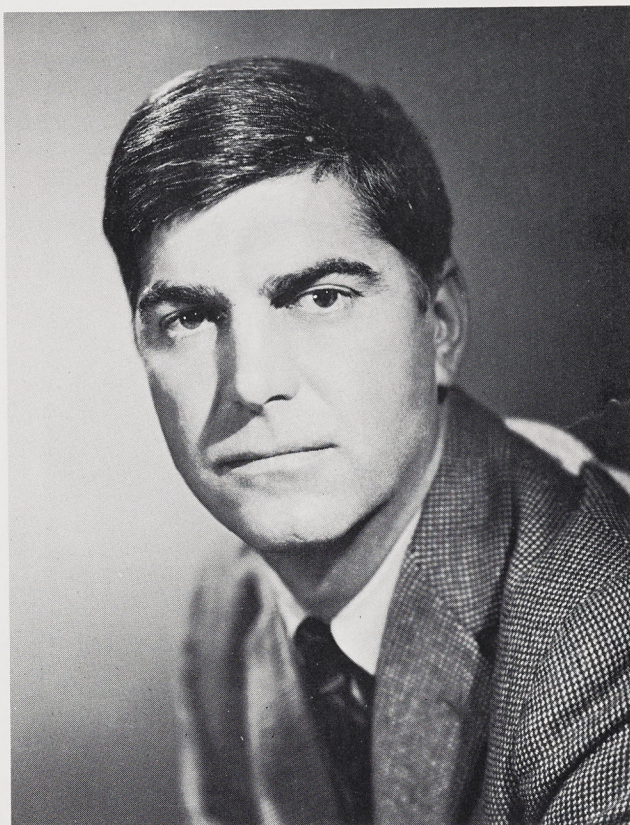
While everyone seemed to be preoccupied with Soviet space accomplishments, the Russians were busy building up a more traditional demonstration of power—their navy. NBC News reported in its "Russia in the Mediterranean" special last year that the Soviet fleet had expanded to 50 or 60 ships and ten submarines. This program, chosen by OPC judges as the best television interpretation of foreign affairs during 1969, focused on the possibility of confrontation between the Russians and the U.S. Sixth Fleet, and the repercussions which could affect delicate political situations in and around the Mediterranean.

The presentation by NBC executive producer George Murray looked at the problem from several angles. Elie Abel reported activity of U.S. and Soviet fleets from Gibraltar and Malta; Dean Brelis explored the fleet's probable effect on Yugoslavia's fence-straddling posture between East and West, the Greek-Turkish rivalry over Cyprus, and Israel's conflict with the Arabs. The other side of the Israel-Arab dispute, in light of the Russian fleet, was assayed by Wilson Hall, reporting from Egypt, Jordan, and Lebanon.

George Murray has produced a number of NBC special programs on foreign affairs, such as "Israel: Victory or Else," "Alamein: A Monty Memoir," "Vietnam: A New Year, A New War." He also mounted regular presentation of "The War This Week" and "Vietnam Weekly Review." He was active in directing and producing convention and election coverage in 1962, 1964 and 1968, and for seven years was associate producer and director of the Huntley-Brinkley Report. Murray was born and educated in New York City.

Recently named Dean of the Columbia University Graduate School of Journalism, Elie Abel was NBC News diplomatic correspondent when the prize-winning program was produced. He headed the coverage team at the preliminary peace talks in Paris last year, and has been host of the regular weekly analysis show, "The World in Washington," on NBC Radio, which brought him the OPC award in that class last year. He joined NBC as State Department correspondent in 1961, after serving as Washington bureau chief of the *Detroit News* and earlier, as national and foreign correspondent for the *New York Times*. A Montreal native, Abel holds degrees from McGill and Columbia Universities.

Now on assignment in New York, NBC correspondent Dean Breilis is a veteran of 28 months as a Vietnam correspondent, beginning during the French presence, and more recently during the current U.S. involvement. Originally on assignment for Time-Life, he joined NBC in 1963, and in 1964 took OPC's award for best radio reporting, for his coverage from Cyprus. He was on-camera reporter for "The War This Week" in 1968, anchorman on "Vietnam Weekly Review" in 1966, and presented a daily "Vietnam Report" on the "Today" show, also in 1966. Born in Newport, R.I., Breilis graduated from Harvard in 1949. He returned to the university in 1958 as a Nieman Fellow to study Sino-Soviet relations, and for the next four years taught English and writing at Harvard and Radcliffe.



Dean Breilis

Currently in the Middle East, Wilson Hall has reported for NBC News from a variety of crisis centers. He joined NBC in 1953, and opened its Cairo bureau. He covered the Korean and 1956 Suez Wars, spent four years covering Latin America, including the Dominican revolt, Cuba before the break in relations with the U.S., and Brazil. For a time he drew general assignments in New York, but in 1968 returned to overseas reporting from Vietnam. One of many programs in which he participated was the acclaimed "War Among Friends" documentary about the 1965 Santo Domingo fighting. He was born in Champaign, Ill., and is a graduate of the University of Illinois.



Wilson Hall

JUDGES: Howard Kany, James Harper, Donald Coe



Christopher S. Wren

CLASS 9

CHRISTOPHER S. WREN

Best magazine reporting from abroad

The Greece of Melina Mercouri, Retsina wine and Socrates took on another meaning for Americans in 1969 with Christopher Wren's *Look* magazine article "Greece: Government by Torture." Wren was the first American journalist to uncover the extent of the torture and reprisals visited on Greek citizens by the junta. That report won him this OPC award.

Since joining *Look's* editorial department in 1961, Wren has covered a wide range of stories. One of his first assignments was as part of a *Look* team reporting on the integration of Ole' Miss in 1962. This reporting earned the magazine a special citation from the National Conference of Christians and Jews and earned Wren more civil rights assignments between 1963 and 1965.

Between 1966 and 1968, Wren made three trips to Vietnam which resulted in stories such as "The Green Beret Myth" which he was well qualified to write, as a former paratrooper on active duty in Korea and as a member himself of the Special Forces from 1958 to 1960.

After receiving his B.A. from Dartmouth in 1957, Wren did graduate work in Russian at the University of Edinburgh. This came in handy when he was sent to Russia in 1967 to prepare material for *Look's* issue on Russia.

Later that same year, Wren received a fellowship from the Ford Foundation to study Mandarin Chinese at Stanford and in 1968 worked as assistant press secretary for Senator Eugene McCarthy in the Oregon primaries.

Currently living in New York, Wren is a co-author, with Jack Shepard, of two best-sellers, *Quotations from Chairman LBJ* and *Poor Richard's Almanack* (Simon & Schuster, 1968).

JUDGES: Jean Baer, Nate Polowetsky, Grace Naismith, John McAllister, Paul Ekuhart

Best magazine interpretation of foreign affairs

Both Norman Cousins and Carl Rowan have had distinguished careers in journalism and public affairs. Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review* since 1940, was graduated from Columbia University in 1936, and began his journalism career with the *New York Post* as education reporter.

A year later he was named both literary editor and managing editor of *Current History*, where he stayed for three years before moving to the *Saturday Review*. Since he assumed the editor's chair, the magazine has grown in circulation (20,000 to 600,000) and the scope has moved editorially into the forefront of national debates on such issues as nuclear weapons control and ecology.

Norman Cousins is the author of eight books, the editor of another four, and has received countless awards for journalistic excellence, including this same OPC award in 1965. He has honorary degrees from 23 colleges and universities and has served on numerous civic and government committees.

Cousins is married, the father of five children, including an adopted daughter from Hiroshima, and lives in New Canaan, Connecticut.

Carl Rowan was born in Ravenscroft, Tennessee in 1925 and graduated from Bernard High School in McMinnville in 1942. Currently a syndicated columnist for the *Chicago Daily News*, Rowan joined the navy after a year at Tennessee State University and became, at age 19, one of the first fifteen officers in the nation's naval history.

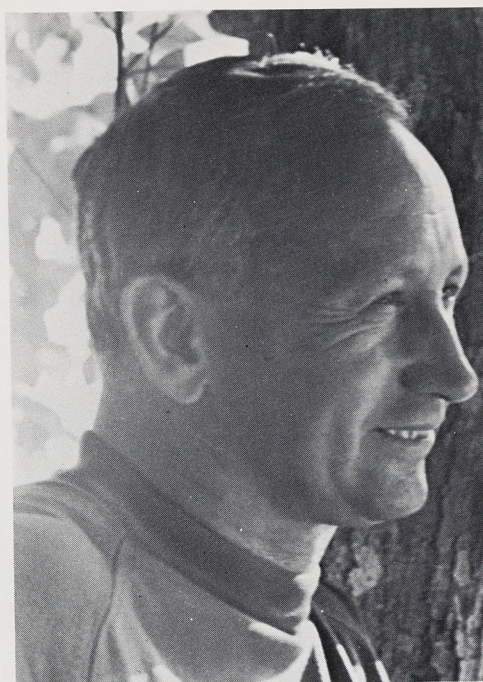
After the war he studied at Washburn University in Topeka, Kansas and at Oberlin College, Ohio where he received a bachelor's degree in mathematics and at the University of Minnesota where he was awarded an M.A. in journalism in 1948.

He then went to Baltimore in 1948 to work on the *Baltimore Afro-American* but later that year joined the *Minneapolis Tribune*, where he became the only newsman in America to receive Sigma Delta Chi's prized medallion three years in succession. Rowan got into politics in 1961 when President Kennedy appointed him Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs. Two years later, the author of three books, he became U.S. Ambassador to Finland and in 1954 was named head of the U.S. Information Agency.

Currently living in Washington, Carl Rowan is married and the father of three children.

The panel of judges in this category awarded equal honors to Cousins for his article *How the U.S. Spurned Three Chances for Peace in Vietnam*, published in both *Look* and *Saturday Review*; and to Carl Rowan for *Which Will Be the Next Vietnam?*, published in *Reader's Digest*.

Mr. Cousins was the initial winner of the identical award when it was established in 1964.



Norman Cousins



Carl Rowan

JUDGES: Jean Baer, Nate Polowetsky, Grace Naismith, John McAllister, Paul Ekuhart



Townsend Hoopes

CLASS 11

TOWNSEND HOOPEES

Best book on foreign affairs

Lyndon Johnson's historic decision not to seek reelection and to reverse the U.S. policy on bombing of North Vietnam targets climaxed a six-month struggle about the policy among the President's advisers. One of those counselors was author Townsend Hoopes, then Under Secretary of the Air Force. His book, "The Limits of Intervention" (David McKay), is an intimate eye-witness record of the conflicting personalities and beliefs among the men in the administration who were influential in changing the controversial bombing strategy.

The OPC panel for this category described Hoopes' book as historic and "written with great perception and fine objectivity."

His career has alternated between government service and business. His first public assignment, in 1947, was as Assistant to the Chairman of the House Armed Services Committee. He went on to become Assistant Secretary of Defense, a post he held until 1953, when he left government to enter private business. He resumed work in Washington in 1965, with his appointment as Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs. He was Under Secretary of the Air Force from 1967 to 1969, during the critical period described in his book. He recently joined the management consultant firm of Cresap, McCormick & Paget as a vice president and director of their Washington office.

As a writer, Hoopes has contributed articles to *Foreign Affairs*, the *Yale Review*, *Business Horizons*, and *The Washington Monthly*. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations in New York.

A native of Duluth, Minn., Hoopes was educated at Andover and Yale.

JUDGES: Anita Diamant Berke, John Barkham, Hallie Burnett, Gerold Frank, Will Oursler, Paul Eriksson, Fred Kerner



Paul Conrad

CLASS 12

PAUL F. CONRAD

Best cartoon on foreign affairs

Paul Conrad's distinctive cartoon style has won him four major awards in the past seven years and he is as familiar to awards committees as to his millions of readers.

OPC recognition in 1970 goes to Conrad for "his general work during the year" and specifically for the cartoon entitled "U.S. TROOPS CONTINUE TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM SOUTH VIETNAM", as the year's best cartoon on foreign affairs. An honorarium of \$500 accompanies his scroll.

Conrad previously was cited by Sigma Delta Chi in 1963 and 1969 and received a Pulitzer Prize for cartooning in 1964.

Conrad was born in Cedar Rapids, Iowa in 1924 and graduated from high school in Des Moines in 1942. Deferring college, he enlisted in the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, where he served three years, including 18 months in the Pacific.

Upon discharge, he entered the University of Iowa to study art and was graduated in 1950 with a B.A. That summer he joined the *Denver Post* as an editorial cartoonist.

Shortly before he received the Pulitzer Prize, Conrad had moved to the *Los Angeles Times* from where his cartoons are currently distributed by the Register and Tribune Syndicate. From there, newspaper readers can be sure that Conrad's sharp pen will continue to deflate the world's overblown personalities whenever they bob into public view.

JUDGES: Milton Caniff, Robert Clurman, John Luter

CLASS 13

JOHN M. GOSHKO

Vision Magazine—Ed Stout award
Best reporting on Latin America—any medium

The 1970 OPC Awards Committee noted that it had "scanned a hundred-odd dispatches and articles" as well as two T.V. programs in the judging for the \$500 Vision Magazine-Ed Stout award before deciding to declare John Goshko the winner.

Born in 1933, Goshko received a B.A. Degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1955. Four years later he emerged from the Graduate School of Journalism at Columbia with an M.A. degree. He promptly joined the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune* and worked there as a reporter until 1961 when he signed on with the *Washington Post*.

That same year, he also received a Pulitzer traveling fellowship in South America, beginning his career in foreign news reporting. In 1963 Goshko took time out to pursue a Ford Foundation fellowship in advanced international reporting and in 1964 he was named Assistant Foreign Editor for the *Post*. Goshko became the *Post's* South American correspondent in 1966.

Married and the father of four children, Goshko's award is highlighted by an Awards Committee note that other entrants were "specialists, visitors, former officials," as well as "permanent correspondents" like Goshko and that all their work deserved "wide attention in this country." Nevertheless the committee went on to cite John Goshko, "for his thoughtful, in-depth reports on the forces of change in Latin America."



John M. Goshko

JUDGES: Joe Jones, James B. Canel, John Luter,
Harry Rosenhouse



Philip W. Whitcomb

CLASS 14

PHILIP W. WHITCOMB

E. W. Fairchild Award
for best business reporting from abroad

One of the few Americans to be interned twice during World War II, Philip Whitcomb has been a working news correspondent in Europe for about 30 years. He receives the 1970 \$500 OPC Award for best business reporting from abroad for his series of articles in the *Christian Science Monitor* with, in the words of OPC judges, "penetrating and incisive reporting on the economic and political implications of the changes in the French economy" during 1969.

Whitcomb was European correspondent for *Harper's Weekly* and the *Boston Evening Transcript* in 1941 and, upon the death that year of the *Transcript*, became AP correspondent in occupied France for Louis Lochner, bureau chief in Berlin, who was temporarily responsible for French coverage. He was interned in 1942 and exchanged at Lisbon, returning immediately to un-occupied France as correspondent for the *Baltimore Sun*; was interned once again and exchanged in 1944. He continued writing for the *Sun* until 1947 in Europe.

In 1947 he joined Macnens (European Economic News), and for the next 20 years simultaneously edited the *Euromarket News*, a weekly news service, and three English-language economic monthlies. In 1954 he also became a regular European correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* on economic news.

Philip Whitcomb, a native of Topeka, Kansas, was a Rhodes Scholar from 1911 to 1914 and holds B.A. and D. Litt. degrees from Washburn University as well as B.A. and M.A. degrees from Oxford University. Now 79, he lives in Paris.

JUDGES: Henry Gellerman, George Bookman,
Samuel C. Lesch



Arnold C. Brackman

CLASS 15

ARNOLD C. BRACKMAN

Best article or report on Asia—any medium

Arnold C. Brackman has been called "one of this country's leading authorities on Southeast Asia." A former foreign correspondent, he was with the United Press from 1945-51, covering Japan and Southeast Asia, notably Indonesia and Malaya. Thereafter, he served as a special correspondent in Southeast Asia for the *Christian Science Monitor*. Based on Java, he also covered Vietnam, Singapore, Cambodia, Burma and Thailand. Since 1960 he has made periodic visits to the region.

Mr. Brackman's first book, *Indonesian Communism: A History* (New York: Praeger, 1963) drew widespread critical acclaim and went into three printings. His second book, *Southeast Asia's Second Front: The Power Struggle in the Malay Archipelago* (New York: Praeger, 1966) was a History Book Club selection. His latest work, *The Communist Collapse in Indonesia*, was published by W.W. Norton last November. A Southeast Asian edition was brought out last month by Asia, Pacific Press, Singapore.

Mr. Brackman also participated in the China Project of the Council on Foreign Relations. He edits the Pakistan Government's interim reports on its second and third five-year plans and serves on the faculty of Western Connecticut State College, where he teaches Southeast Asian affairs. He is also a frequent contributor on Southeast Asia to the editorial pages of the *Los Angeles Times* and writes on Southeast Asia for various other publications.

Mr. Brackman resides in the rural area of Brookfield Center, Connecticut. His wife, the former Agnes de Keyzer, is a prize-winning water color painter. Their daughter, Cathay, is a student at Southern Connecticut State College, New Haven.

JUDGES: Margaret Parton, Marguerite Brown,
William Clifford

CLASS 16

ANONYMOUS CZECH PHOTOGRAPHER

Robert Capa Award for superlative photography requiring exceptional courage and enterprise abroad

On September 9, 1969, *Look* magazine published a moving photographic essay on the events in Czechoslovakia of the previous year. "A Death to Remember" told of people, who struggling toward their dream of democratic Socialism, awoke to a nightmare of repression. The exclusive photographs were smuggled out of Prague and document the sorrows not soon to be forgotten.

JUDGES: Ann Zane Shanks, Arthur Rothstein,
Charles Harbutt, Lee Lockwood





Peter Arnett



Horst Faas

CLASS 17

**HORST FAAS
PETER ARNETT**

**OPC George Polk Memorial Award
for best reporting, any medium, requiring
exceptional courage and enterprise abroad**

"The Story of Company A" by Associated Press team Peter Arnett and Horst Faas had impact far beyond its page one presentations.

The piece, which told of exhausted soldiers rejecting an order to go into battle in Vietnam, caused repercussions in the U.S. military and directed the world's attention to another unhappy facet of the Asian war.

Winners Arnett and Faas are among the most experienced in the Vietnam press corps, and frequently have been recognized by the profession's highest honors. Both are Pulitzer Prize winners—Arnett won the international reporting prize in 1966 and Faas the news photography award in 1965. The previous year Faas had won OPC's Robert Capa gold medal, for his Vietnam exploits.

The pair frequently worked together on stories in the field. However, working alone, either can double in brass: reporter Arnett sometimes illustrates his stories with his own photographs; photographer Faas often writes stories to go with his pictures.

Arnett is said to have spent more time in the field with the troops than any other correspondent in Vietnam. He was the first to reveal use of riot-control gas by South Vietnamese forces. "The scattered actions and frontless nature of this war make it absolutely necessary for a reporter to get out with the units that are doing the actual fighting."

The 35-year old New Zealander started as a desk man on the *Southland Times* in Invergill, New Zealand, while attending college at night. He later worked on the Wellington, New Zealand, *Standard*, the *Sydney Sun* in Australia, and the *Bangkok World* in Thailand. The latter paper sent him to Laos to set up an edition in Vientiane. Arnett began working as part-time correspondent for the AP after a new regime shut the paper down in 1960. Eventually he became a full-time staff member based in Jakarta, Indonesia. Fourteen months after his arrival, he was expelled for writing a famine story which pleased the government. Then, in 1962, he went to Vietnam.

That was the year Faas arrived. Since joining AP's Bonn Bureau in 1956 Faas had been photographing in Algeria, in the Congo (where rebel troops had forced him to eat his United Nations pass), and Berlin. Faas, now 35, had begun his photographic career at 19 with the Keystone agency in his native Germany.

In Vietnam, he has gone out regularly with helicopter missions and dug in with ground forces to photograph the war. His pictures have shown what the war does to the Vietnamese people living in the hamlets and villages of combat areas.

JUDGES: Richard J.H. Johnston, Clancy Topp,
Everett Walker

THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL AWARD

NEIL A. ARMSTRONG

for first reporting from the moon

Well in advance of the moment when Astronaut Neil A. Armstrong stepped out of his "Eagle" craft last July 20th onto the moon's surface and proclaimed "That's one small step for a man, one giant leap for mankind," countless millions in his television audience were already aware of his background and accomplishments. They knew him as a man of many skills, primarily associated with airplanes and spacecraft.

Through the hours as he and Air Force Colonel Edwin A. Aldrin, cautiously prowled "Eagle's" vicinity where no human being had ever explored, he demonstrated another ability—factual, objective reportage—before what was undoubtedly the vastest number of spectators and auditors any newsman ever claimed. For this element of his epic achievement, the Overseas Press Club extends special recognition for journalistic proficiency, as to a colleague newly accepted into its bailiwick.

In the judgement of each journalist who would have endured any sacrifice to have won the assignment, Armstrong's credentials were established through the clarity, totality and logical sequence of his report to the world on the character and atmosphere of this newest of frontiers. By nature, a laconic individual and recognized as unflappable, his cool, unembellished report came through the 240,000 miles of space as an admirable summation—an editor's delight.

For the current record, the skipper of Apollo 11 was born in Wapakoneta, Ohio, Aug. 5, 1930, to Mr. and Mrs. Steven Armstrong. From childhood, he was enraptured with the dream of soaring into space. The wages from his first job in a pharmacy—sweeping floors and hoisting cartons—went to pay for flying lessons, and he received his pilot's license on his 16th birthday.


As a Navy aviator from 1949 to 1952, he flew 78 combat missions in Korea, was shot down once, and rescued within 24 hours. He was graduated from Purdue University in 1955 with a degree in aeronautical engineering, and later attended the University of Southern California part time, while working on a master's degree in mathematics. His practical experience as a pilot prior to the moon flight included participation in flight tests on various advanced types of aircraft, one of which was the X-15.

He is married and the father of one son, Eric, 5 years old.



JUDGES: President Hal Lehrman and the
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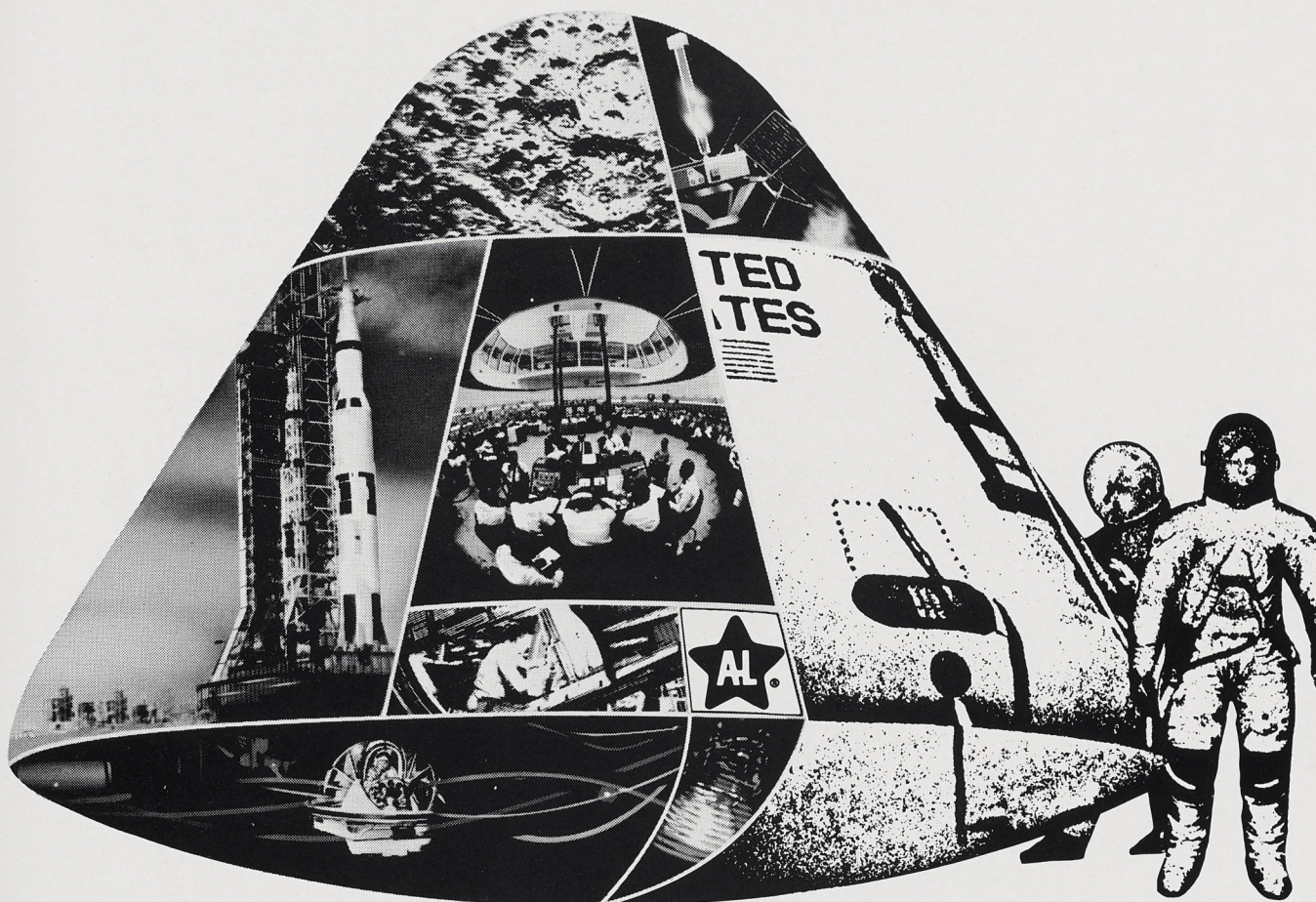
Remember dental disease doesn't stop with your teeth. In many instances, it can lead to other, more serious medical problems.

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BROWBEATING THE PRESS:

GOOD NEWS —BAD NEWS

AGNEWS

by John P. Leacacos

One of the last times that I can recall having no difficulties with officials was during one of my first chores as a cub reporter. It was a story with the normal self-serving twist about our esteemed sheriff in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, a character who, I devoutly hope, in the interval, has had his mildewed soul cleaned up in Purgatory. That amiable rogue, Sheriff "Silver" John Sulzman, used to say, "I don't care what you say about me—as long as you spell my name right."

Since those long gone days, my relations with officialdom here and overseas have ranged from lip-service amiability to deep-seated suspiciousness. In recent times this fundamental adversary relationship between government and media has been sharpened by Vice President Spiro Agnew's bar room tirades which artfully confused the lines between facts and responsibility for their accuracy, and considered editorial opinions and the right to express them.

Leaving aside the Agnew furor for the moment, let's start with a few truisms about American foreign correspondents. First, they deal with officials of foreign governments. Secondly, they also deal with American embassy and military representatives of our own government. Third, these foreign correspondents are Americans, raised in the American tradition and bred in the doctrine of freedom of information based on Article I of the first amendment of the Bill of Rights. This

says, in part: "Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom . . . of the press . . ."

This plainly means that the exercise of the authority granted to elected officials by the people works only when the people have full access to governmental information in order to judge the record of their representatives when they submit themselves for election or re-election. A free press is the only way for the people to get the necessary information. That's what all the noise and recurrent scrapping is about. For Agnew is not the first nor will he be the last to assault the right to freedom of the press.

When American reporters go abroad, they bring with them this free press credo which is part of the so-called American way of life. In the most practical sense, this attitude of professional ethics is imposed on the foreign lands and people with whom American reporters are in contact. It is equally clear that such an attitude and operation may be good enough for us, but not necessarily acceptable to the ethos, customs or beliefs of the foreign ruling elite.

Therefore, American correspondents reporting foreign events in the American way, on the basis of America's need-to-know, may consciously or unconsciously highlight facts which are deemed basically irrelevant to the powers that rule in a given country. The question thus legitimately arises whether the final reportorial version of the foreign reality is warped or not. This is apart from the built-in government-reporter opposition.

At the same time, governments, dictators, military oligarchies, and power cliques in any foreign country are also downright fearful of, or apprehensive about American reporters. Enterprising reporters may uncover facts which would be embarrassing or detrimental to the foreign country's relations with the United States from whom they seek favors or aid. Also in this ever more tightly knit world, American-published information could come back to a foreign country despite state controls and censorship, affect its domestic population. Obviously, this possibility also impairs an American correspondent's access to foreign information when the local press is more or less under the thumb of the government (Peru, Greece, Egypt, Viet Nam, Eastern Europe).

The next relevant factor in the forced cohabitation of politicians and reporters is the historical context. Both are working under the tides and influences of the same period of history. Roughly speaking, since World War II there have been three periods: the intensive cold war from 1945 to 1956; the beginning of the thaw from 1956 to 1965, the creaking and straining of fixed systems into the splintering of the colonial areas and the monolithic communistic bloc; and the further re-alignment, splintering, resettlement and exacerbations in the era from 1965 to the present, marked by the two extreme problems left over from the earlier eras—Viet Nam and the Middle East.

For foreign correspondents, the post-war era was marked operationally by three major shifts. In the first five years after World War II, there were only six U.S. newspapers which had regularly paid American staff correspondents as part of their foreign news networks. Practically all of these were in stationary bureaus, i.e., fixed to the capital of a country, and usually, but not always, knowing only the language of that country. This was the time when the Europeans didn't know very much about the American press, either. When I applied for my press accreditation in 1946 at the Italian Foreign Ministry in Rome, explaining that I was from the *Plain Dealer*, the official very politely told me that I was in the wrong ministry, and should apply to the Ministry of Aeronautics.

This was also the time of the burgeoning cold war, when most of us reporters habitually thought from an adversary point of view—it was them, or us. Though very rarely did any reporter go so far as to have a McCarthy phobia about a communist under every bed, etc., inasmuch as we knew the real thing and saw them every day, there was the general atmosphere of anti-communism. Every American reporter sounded patriotic as a matter of course and most of the time exercised self-censorship in the interest of "national security" (whatever that was supposed to be) so as not unwittingly to give useful information to the enemy.

The next major shift came at the time of the Korean war in 1950 when the outbreak of actual fighting sent a swarm of American reporters to the Far East where the action was. Contemporaneously, other events—EOKA terrorism in Cyprus, rebellion in East Berlin, the Suez crisis and Budapest revolution in 1956—began forcing a dispersal of correspondents on detached duty from their regular bureaus.

This type of in-and-out activity had first started for the Greek guerrilla war in 1947-48. Spot events such as these were easy to cover—you wrote what you saw. The difficulties came later as governments had to formulate policies to handle consequences of the events. Officials inevitably hedged; they could not predict the future. But relatively few are ever honest enough to confess it. Hence, journalistic frustration, bafflement or rage.

The third shift came in the late 1950s. Nikita Krushchev's trip to the United States, President Eisenhower's and Vice President Nixon's trips overseas, and President John Kennedy's later—all began bringing mass coverage by reporters from the U.S.

The trend in the last few years has escalated to a point where jet travel and TV via satellite have made practically every Washington correspondent a "foreign correspondent." Many Washington correspondents now make periodic tours abroad of a few weeks or a few months. Mass coverage and service in rotation in Viet Nam and side trips through the Far East have now made the number of such foreign correspondents larger than ever.

It seems to me that the job of the professional foreign correspondent, more or less permanently assigned abroad, has changed in two essential ways. One, the correspondents today appear more sophisticated and less parochial than those of twenty years ago. But they may also be under a certain disadvantage when they leave their immediate expertise in their particular foreign area. Two, the closeness of the world via radio and cable links makes for practically instant transmission of all news back and forth between the States and overseas. The ubiquitous transmitter radio allows everybody practically everywhere to hear some story, right or wrong, of what happened thousands of miles away on the same day.

To say nothing of the echo effect in print the State Department in Washington has over a hundred foreign correspondents on its list, led in numbers first by the Japanese, second by the Germans and third by the British. Whatever the "Official Spokesman" says in his elaborately careful way will be interpreted, slanted or distorted according to the special needs and interests of these correspondents in Washington. Their dispatches will appear in newspapers abroad, which the American correspondents there read—and often get their information from. There is also the misleading trick of off-the-record leaks in Washington which metropolitan papers sometimes wire to their

European bureaus, from which are written stories to be wired back so as to appear that they are emanating from the foreign capitals.

Also important as far as the foreign officials abroad are concerned, is that foreign ministries are getting information from their own foreign newspapers as well as from their foreign embassy cables. They must prepare their reactions or attitudes to U.S.A.-engendered news when the American foreign correspondent asks them about it, even though the American correspondent may not quite know who said what to whom in Washington.

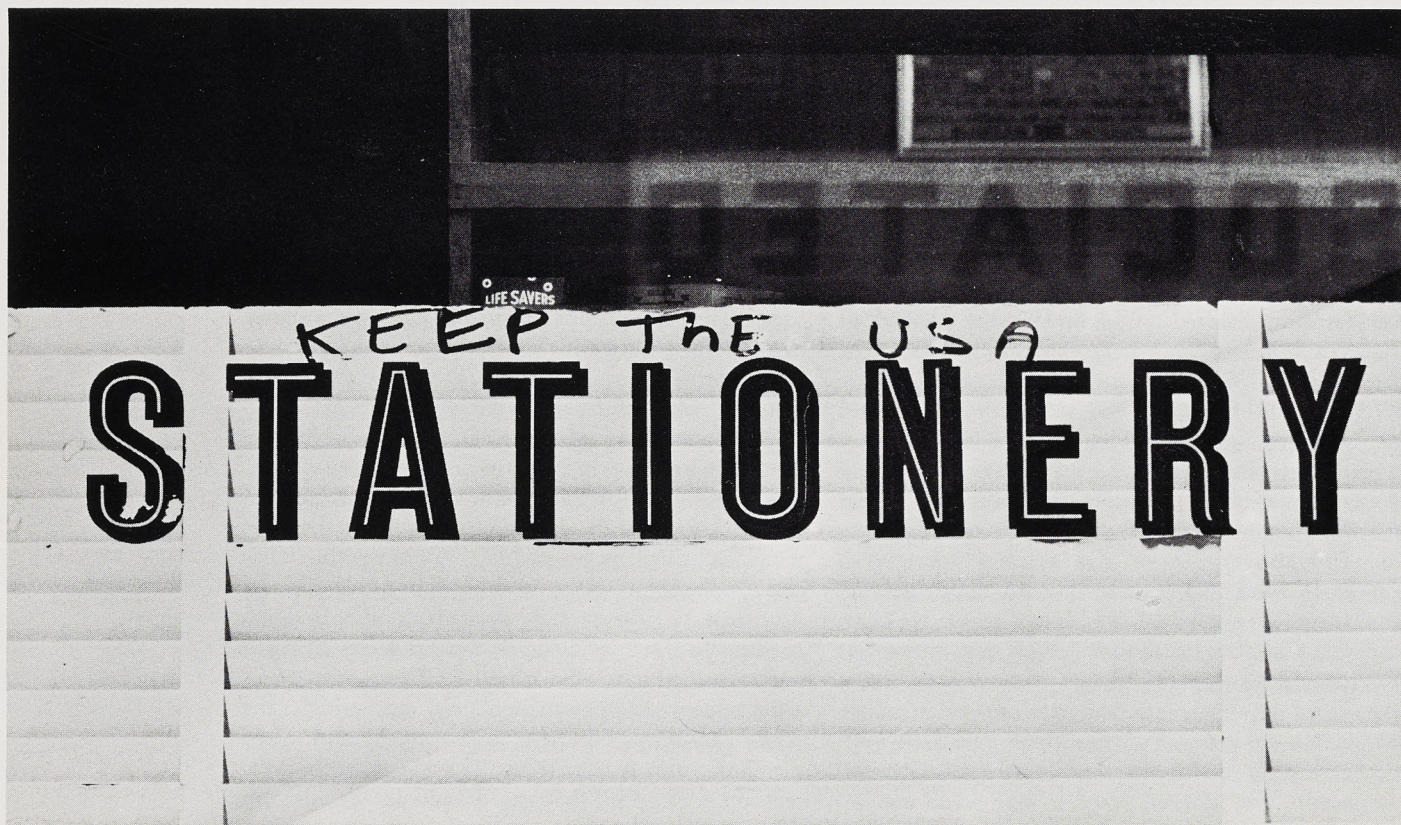
It sometimes looks as if the right things are being said for the wrong reasons and vice versa, all of which adds to the merry confusion of the news and to instant misunderstanding between reported and official.

From checking around the two major American wire services, the State Department country desk officers and the USIA headquarters officers in Washington, the consensus is that today's foreign correspondents have a harder job getting to hot spot breaking news in underdeveloped areas as nervous foreign governments seal off entry (Nigeria, Syria, Cambodia). On the other hand, it is considerably easier to get competent interpretations of events and perspective because of the heightened awareness of issues promoted by the global rebound of the news. Foreign officials show apparently greater candor and appreciation of the total problem. Also, you can be sure, they learn a more subtle use of the self-serving rationale.

Press conferences abroad by foreign officials will more or less follow the dominant party line.

Yet these same officials may talk off the record the next moment and be even more frank than many Americans. American embassy officials, on the other hand, tend to be as forthright as their expertise and self-confidence allow them. They, especially, have to keep in mind that in sensitive areas like the Far East and the Middle East they can be made to look like liars or fools by some statement out of Washington the next day. There is a good rule of thumb for rating the embassy chaps: when issues and/or policies are vague or ambiguous in Washington, the local embassy pitch will be at least three times as cloudy. Or else, our boy is selling you his special bill of goods. Viet Nam is the classic laboratory study of all types of official reportorial misdemeanors on practically any subject, but Laos is running it a close second.

Relations between foreign officials and American reporters overseas are as uneven as the developments themselves. Spain, for instance, has eased up on news services since more liberal ministers were installed by Generalissimo Franco. Brazil seems to be edging in to put more pressure on foreign correspondents on what they can send out, but is not yet to the point of direct challenge. It is not always comfortable filing from Korea because of the uncertainty of the military atmosphere created by the intermittent North Korean probing and the desire of the South Koreans to make themselves indispensable to United States strategic interests. In Taiwan or Nationalist China press relations have been bad, but Chinese-speaking American reporters can argue points and get away with it. There are no special new problems in



Eastern Europe from what I am told. It is not too pleasant to work in Poland despite the ebullient people and the pretty girls, because the cops still keep tabs on you. In Hungary you are treated fairly well, although you get the feeling they would rather not have you around at all, on the grounds that no news is good news, and hence, less likely to irritate the Russians. Czechoslovakia after the "liberation" is very illiberal, and extremely tight. Thailand can be an uneasy place to work in; the Thais are worry warts about their image in the U.S. Nigeria was querulous because reporters were thought to have favored Biafra in the civil war. Other African nations are volatile, depending upon how much you publish of their own bombast, a rhetoric which they seem to believe themselves. Roumania has loosened up in the past year, at least 50% better, it is said, but still harder to work in than Poland or Hungary; it is difficult to get next to ordinary people who are hesitant and nervous about talking to foreigners.

The Middle East is the hardest place to work of all. It has only lately been possible to get back into Syria. Officials in Jordan tend to level more than they used to. Lebanon is theoretically open, but don't press your luck if you try to describe too exactly the schisms of the mixed Moslem-Christian population. Egypt professes an enlightened relationship with the press and treats you personally with great affability, although you have no way of knowing if what they are telling you is true or false. My own experiences with the Egyptians during the Suez crisis were rather traumatic. I was listening to Radio Cairo describe how Egyptian tanks were advancing on Port Said, while watching a whole column of tanks fleeing across the bridges of the Nile to safety beneath the trees of Gezira Island. Intelligence analysis of Egyptian military communiques today rate them as 65% fabricated and up to 35% partially fabricated. The Egyptians also exercised post-censorship. If they don't like what you have written, they may not let you back in.

The Israelis have been traditionally hard-nosed about their control of foreign correspondents, especially if you violate their regulations too blatantly. The Israelis exercise pre-censorship, but you can argue about the cuts. Although they may delay announcement of their losses, the Israelis do not try to hide their damage in planes and tanks. On personnel, it is a little trickier, the fuzzy area having to do with casualties from the Fedayeen, minimal as they probably are. Qualified sources tell me that Israeli personnel casualties are eventually announced for one simple reason: Israel is such a small country, full of such intelligent, excitable and talkative inhabitants, that the death or wounding of soldiers is quickly known, and with air travel being as frequent as it is at Tel Aviv, so-called temporarily suppressed information quickly gets out to Europe or Cyprus by word of

mouth, even though the news may have been delayed in foreign correspondents' dispatches. Israeli officials swear up and down that the military public relations simply can not afford to offend the local public by hanky-panky on the hard facts. The foreign ministry, on the other hand, sounds obscurantist from time to time. Diplomatic language is triple-tongued by definition. Official statements invariably have to reflect whatever political dissension there exists in the country. Hence, spokesmen tend to hedge and muddle up the so-called policies.

Coming back to America after overseas experience with foreign officials and their distractions, diversions and disingenuous aberrations, it is practically a lark to work in the United States—until you find that just a little too often, officials tend to give you conclusions rather than the facts on which the conclusions could be readily made evident. In this area of foreign affairs, the usual gimmick is to hide behind classified, or national security—secrecy. That is a story which has never been adequately gone into because reporters can only get the outside edge of it. More often than not, the "secrecy" is a matter of political sensitivity and fear of embarrassment rather than serious concern about giving away technical secrets which might be useful to a potential enemy.

Because of the repercussions of American-made news on the foreign scene and the transmittal of foreign reactions to us over here, it is clear that foreign coverage today is a mixed bag of foreign and American sources. The increased American input gives rise to some uneasy thoughts at the latest trend to browbeat the press just a teeny bit, as in the Agnew forays; or to scare us, as in the tentative moves by the Justice Department to subpoena reporters' notes for possible legal evidence. If the U.S. bureaucracy at home gets the notion that the U.S. press is not indispensable and can be cowed, you can rest assured that U.S. officials abroad may even begin to think the U.S. press is unnecessary and beneath regard.

My own executive editor of the *Plain Dealer*, William M. Ware, who is also chairman of the Freedom for Information Committee of the Associated Press Managing Editors, said about the new pressures: "Be wary of . . . indiscriminate fishing expeditions" by self-righteous officialdom. I can only say for myself that if they want my notes, I hope they succeed in reading them better than I can. My working attitude overseas and at home has been that anything I knew—and I mean knew in the sense of 90% verification—I would print in the paper, and anybody could read it, including the devil, and everything else I threw away, and that was my own business.

In the ceaseless battle with officials, reporters have one unbeatable advantage: they have the last word—as long as the press remains free . . . and keeps responsible. ♦

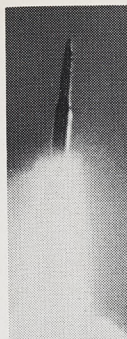
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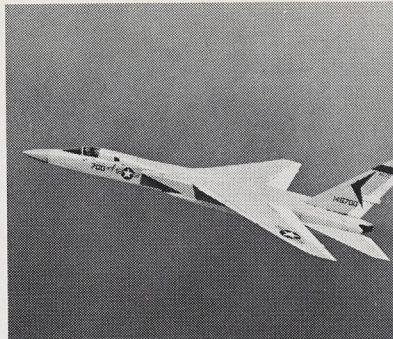
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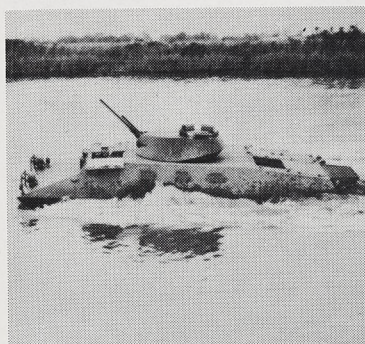
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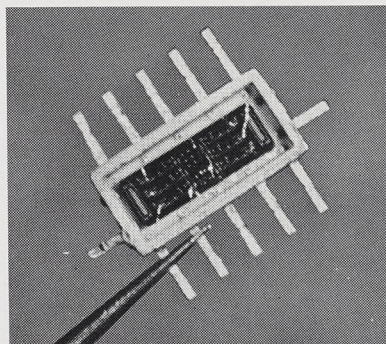
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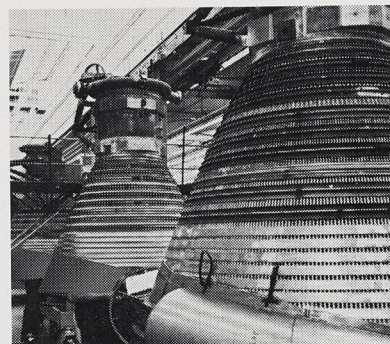
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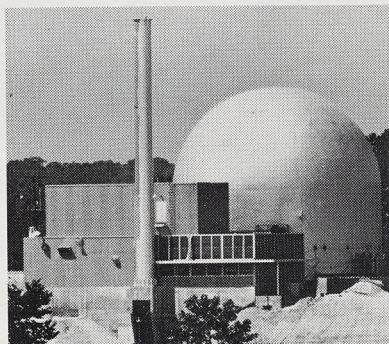
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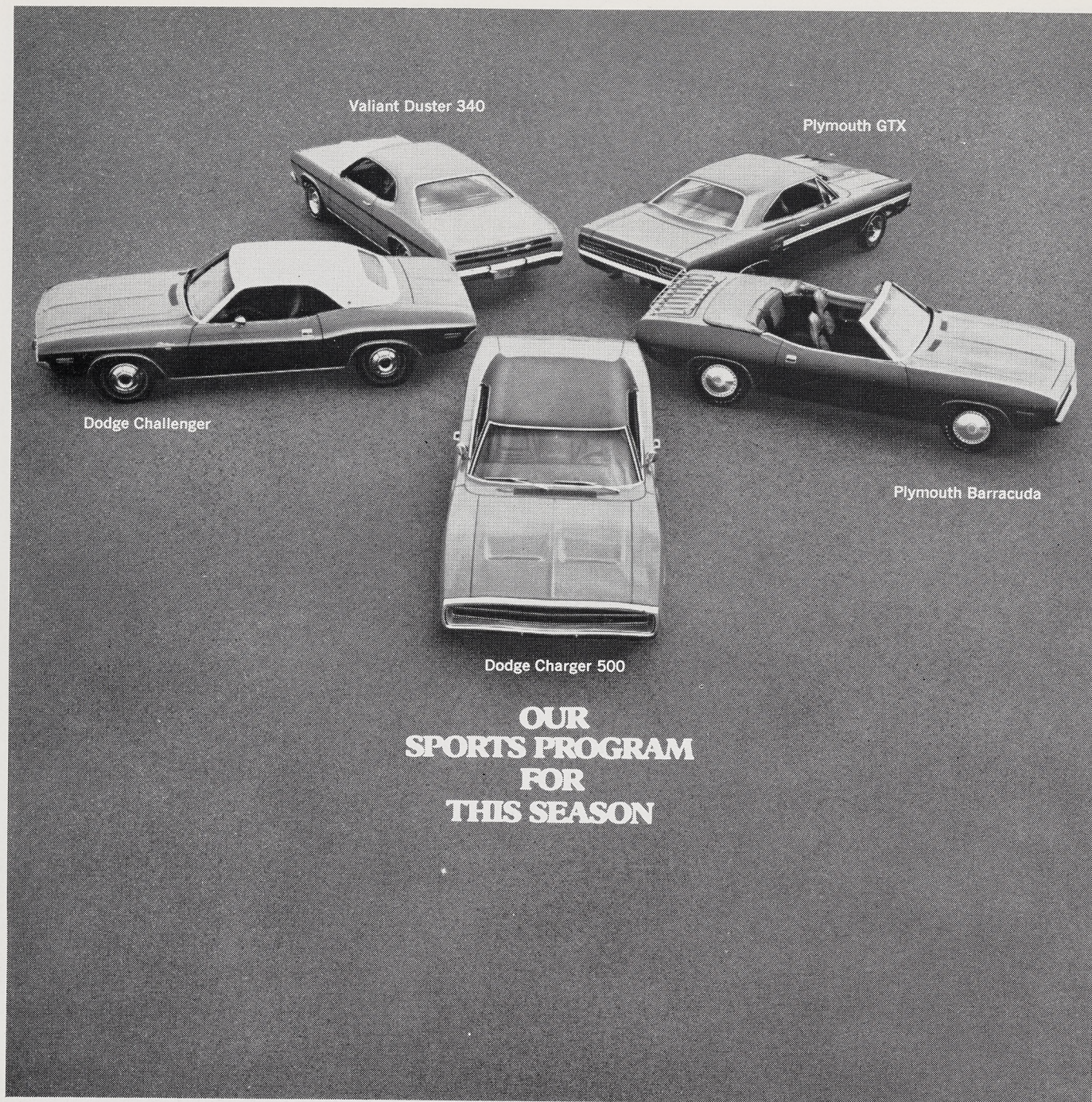


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RIOT!

YOU'RE ON CANDID CAMERA

by Sig Mickelson

Rarely have waves of shock travelled so swiftly and violently across the United States as in late January and early February 1968, following the *Tet* offensive, and rarely have the repercussions following such a remote event left so profound a mark so long a period of time. It was a year of surprise and shock, of frustration and fear, of turbulence and unrest. The tendency was to blame television for the vehemence of reaction to events, if not for the events themselves. The fact is that television probably played a very significant role in many of those events, and likewise, in President Nixon's effort to dampen some of the explosiveness in the atmosphere after he took office the following year.

The *Tet* offensive in late January and early February 1968, showed a vulnerable nation. Television shocked the American public with pictures of enemy troops inside the compound of the United States Embassy in Saigon. It compounded the shock with scenes on the home screen of the bloody fighting at Hue. Night after night the American public saw shelling, burning, bombing and blood. It saw the injured being evacuated by helicopter and dead bodies on the ground, in living color. The cross-fertilization of television with an apparently unwinnable war brought about much frustration.

A powerful, though sometimes hysterical anti-war movement was an almost inevitable result. Senator McCarthy's sudden emergence as a viable candidate owed a large part of its success to the reaction to *Tet* as seen on television.

Subsequent events, all nourished by television coverage and in turn covered with great skill by the print media, rushed by with one stunning impact after another. On March 31st, the President of the United States announced his retirement—on television. A few days later Martin Luther King

was assassinated, and rioting and burning engulfed a number of American cities, including for the first time since the War of 1812, Washington. And television viewers saw flames rising high over the national capital.

Still, the year of frustration was just getting under way. Bobby Kennedy was yet to be assassinated, and the Battle of Michigan Avenue yet to be fought, under the gaze of television's far-ranging eye.

It may be an exaggeration to say that these events would not have taken place without television, but it is quite reasonable to assume that without television, they would have been in a different form. Television is a new force on the international reporting scene, a force we don't fully understand. It is possible that the very nature of the television coverage may well have contributed to the anger, frustration, and irritability, thus pyramiding the violence of the reaction to Vietnam.

Television possesses a number of built-in characteristics that, given the right circumstances, can exert a profound influence on public behavior. In addition to its known capability for bringing war into the living room, there is also its flair for stress on action reporting. There are few persons who have watched television regularly in the United States who don't remember Bull Connor and the police dogs in Birmingham, the rioting in 1962 at the University of Mississippi and at the Sorbonne in Paris in 1968, and during the 1968 convention, the peace marchers and the scenes on Michigan Avenue.

Demonstrations are news. Rioting is news. Violence is news. Goading police into excessive reaction may lead to news. The proponents of rebellion quickly learn these lessons. Even though they were frustrated by normal channels for communication of grievances, the dissidents learned

how to command attention from television. And, the other media followed.

Of course we can't be sure that television is a factor which led to the rioting during 1968. At a meeting of the International Broadcast Institute in Bellagio, Italy, in February 1969, representatives of the British Broadcasting Corporation, and Independent Television News described their methods of covering the Grosvenor Square peace march in London in October 1968.

It was generally anticipated that peace marchers were sufficiently on edge that there might be some dangerous rioting once they got to Grosvenor

Square. But the event was peaceful. At the Bellagio meeting, the ITN representative insisted that the restraint of the demonstrators resulted from the fact that ITN personnel kept their cameras open. Marchers refrained from violence because they were under constant surveillance.

British Broadcasting Corporation news personnel take an entirely different point of view. They, likewise had cameras along the entire route of march, but they kept their lenses capped. They insist there was no violence because demonstrators knew they could not be seen. You can take your choice.



In a world tightly bound together by sophisticated communications links, it is frequently difficult to separate the purely domestic news from that which could be classified as foreign. It is relatively safe to conclude, though, that many of 1968's stunning developments had their origins in events taking place halfway around the world from Washington. Demonstrations, riots, violence, insofar as they are induced or fed by television coverage, are the most dramatic evidence of television's impact on government policy. But what of the more mundane, day by day influence of the medium, particularly on the formulation and ex-

ecution of foreign policy?

Some facets of foreign policy pose difficult problems for television. The SALT talks were pictorial only on opening day, and then only in a very formal way. Negotiations with the Japanese over textile imports offer few possibilities for attractive news film, but television cameras may, if they wish, find a dramatic Japanese student riot almost any day in the week.

Television personnel have struggled for years with the problem of covering non-action news. In the Eisenhower Administration, foreign news seemed to many observers to consist largely of



BOB ADELMAN

Secretary Dulles either boarding or debarking from airplanes. Television has made some progress since then even though the action story remains the more satisfactory for the medium and by far the easier to cover.

We can assume that there are three main elements involved in the formulation and execution of foreign policy: the President, the Congress and the general public. The communications media link these three elements together and create a mechanism for dialogue.

In turn, there are three aspects to television's role: to keep the dialogue going, to create a climate in which responsible officials may act, and to give the public an opportunity to keep government policies under constant scrutiny so that brakes may be applied if they seem to be required.

Measured against these criteria, just how well is television doing? It does have certain obvious advantages over other media: the size of the audience (public opinion polls indicate substantially more people rely on television than any other medium for the bulk of their news), the presumed impact of the picture, immediacy and intimacy. In some respects television's message may be like the painkiller in the TV commercials—it gets into the bloodstream faster.

One of the most important factors in television's contribution to foreign affairs is the relative ease with which the content can be understood. The use of the picture obviously contributes to simplification, but the structure of the news program, which demands that the viewer maintain attention from beginning to end, puts a premium on selecting items that appeal to a low common denominator.

It's not hard to measure television and its works subjectively because every man is his own critic. But objective measurements are something different. It's obvious that the medium gives a new dimension to news reporting. It may be true that television helped create some of the turbulence of 1968. It may have contributed to the tensions of the so-called generation gap. It's probably true, also, that television helped calm the public in 1969. We can't be sure, but we think that exposure to news leads to some understanding, and through the medium of television, there is greater exposure to news on the part of more people in the country than there ever has been before. We can also assume that exposure to personalities, places and events builds interest in the news and leads the public not only to watch more television but also to read more newspapers, news magazines, general magazines and books, and perhaps to listen more to radio. And the increased background may create receptivity for more new information.

These are things we think, but we don't really know. Angus Campbell at the Institute for Social Research at Ann Arbor, Michigan, suggests that every human being has a built-in screening mechanism which Campbell calls a "perceptorium"

which permits the individual to accept what he *wants* to see or hear and to reject the rest. Behavioral scientists would like to develop a scale to measure the response of the individual to a news item, but the fabric of human experience is far too complex to be able to trace the item from input to reaction. The channels of communication are too varied. The moods of the individual are too changeable.

We can be sure, however, of a number of things in connection with television. In the first place, we can be positive that the action-demonstration technique is here to stay. We can likewise assume that presidents will continue to use television to directly reach the American public with messages they wish to communicate, that Congressmen will continue to look for cameras outside the halls of Congress as a means of speaking to their constituencies; that governments will continue to create news and just as frequently non-news as a means of disseminating public policy. And the dialogue concerning American foreign policy will go on.

There are those who write off television's influence on foreign policy because the policy makers themselves rarely see television. But in so writing off the medium, the critics miss a fundamental element in the relationship between media and government.

Government decisions must be made in the context of the general climate of public opinion. Government executives can lead, but not so far ahead that they lose their public. Some effort to create a base of support before action is undertaken is essential in all but the most urgent of situations.

Prior to the advent of radio news, print was the medium through which such a base of support was built. Radio expanded the channels of government-to-people communication. Television has added still another dimension and, we suspect in many ways, an even more effective one.

In the case of the Vietnam war, the process worked in reverse. The public, fed by the media, particularly television, was ahead of the policy-makers and national policy had to make an abrupt turn toward de-emphasizing the war.

The fact is that television has become a force in the formulation and execution of the foreign policy of the United States and of many other countries of the world. Sometimes its influence is direct, as in the case of President Nixon's November 3rd speech, and sometimes, general and protracted as in connection with foreign aid projects.

At any rate it is there, to be used by a President in building support for a new policy, by the State Department in developing backing for proposed policy, by the Congress in deciding whether to support or reject legislation, and by the public in registering its feelings for deliberation by all three.

Under these circumstances, television is a force to be considered, and more importantly, encouraged. The government and the people should make maximum use of its dramatic potential. ♦

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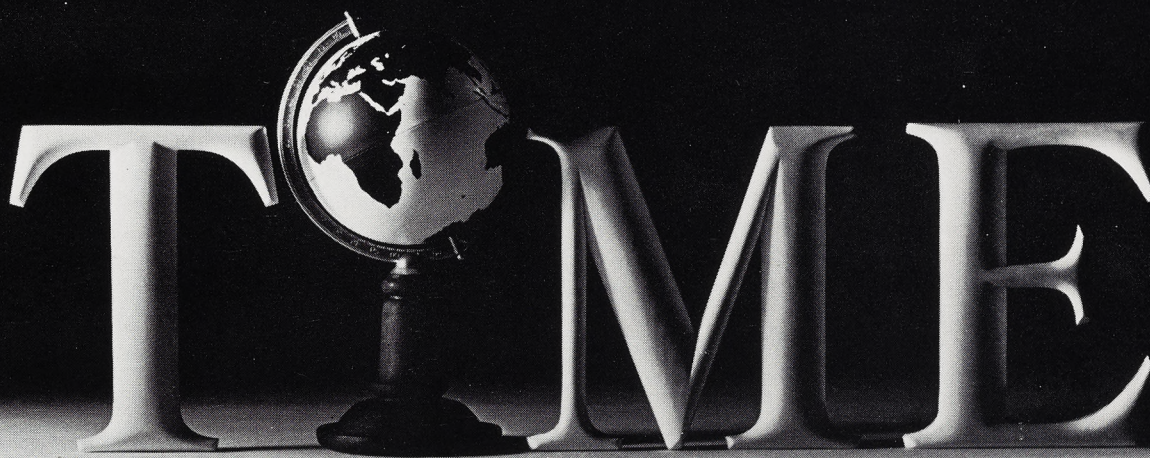
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MULLIGAN'S STEW IN BIAFRA

by Hugh A. Mulligan

To savor fully the opera buffo romance (it never has been solemnized by marriage), between politicians and press, one has to consider from an impartial viewpoint the case of the girl reporter who wanted a cabana room pool-side of the Nile Hilton.

It happened this past winter, when the Middle East crisis was "hotting up" again, to borrow a phrase from the State Department planners, and anyone who was anybody in the trench coat and 48-page passport set was hurrying down to Cairo.

The girl reporter, very handsome, very persuasive, just had to have that room out by the pool, for status, for the convenience of not having to run through the lobby in a dripping bikini, for expense account reasons known only to God and her tax man. The hotel was dolorously empty, but the Egyptian desk clerks, normally a lusty lot, couldn't seem to do a thing for her. Sorry, they shook their heads, all cabana rooms were taken. Next day some German tourists arrived without reservations and were promptly installed in the rooms overlooking the pool. Our girl, who witnessed their arrival, insisted on seeing the manager. Instead, she got the assistant manager, a polite Japanese gentleman whom she had previously met at the Tokyo Hilton.

His duties at the Nile Hilton involved mainly the banqueting facilities but he promised to look into the matter.

"So sorry," he informed her the next day with the ceremonial little bow that has become a hallmark of Hilton demurrer around the world, "journalists not allowed in rooms by pool. Telephones no fixed yet so police can listen in."

Such candor about the normally secretive little

conceits of government communicators is not really all that rare.

A few years ago, when Fred Hoffman, the AP's Pentagon reporter, and I were doing an expose series on corruption in Vietnam, the then Premier (now vice president) Nguyen Cao Ky suddenly appointed a cabinet member with the glorious title of "Minister for Corruption."

Grabbing the AP Saigon bureau's Vietnamese interpreter, whose English wasn't very good, we hurried around for an interview with the new minister.

"Ask him," we said to the interpreter, "what his duties entail."

They rattled on in Vietnamese for several minutes before the interpreter came up for air.

"He say," the interpreter translated, "he overlook corruption all over Vietnam."

Overlooking corruption all over Vietnam is surely a worthy cabinet level post. A few months later the honorable Minister of Corruption divested himself of his campy title with the anguished complaint that too many accountants he sent out to investigate malfeasance in the army never came back.

"What happened to them?" he was asked.

"They were drafted," he said sadly.

Weighed in the balance against such oriental fantasies, the performance of the Nigerian Ministry of Information at the end of the Biafran war only mildly traumatized the sensitive psyches of the 80-odd souls whom the government, and everyone else in Lagos for that matter,

kept referring to as "the world press."

It was a marvelous collective phrase, a trifle pejorative perhaps in this Agnewistic (Scotty Reston's word) age, but at times awfully convenient.

Like the night Stanley Meisler of the *Los Angeles Times* and I tried to enter, in sports shirts, a Lagos restaurant that required coats and ties after dark.

"You world press?" the manager asked.

"Yes," we admitted.

"O.K.," he conceded. "You can come in. But can you eat in a hurry?"

The position of the Nigerian government on that first press trip inside fallen Biafra was a bit like that. Most of the resident press in Nigeria—those organizations like AP, UPI, the *New York Times* and the networks were convinced that Maj. Gen. Yakubu Gowon, the head of state, sincerely believed that relief was going well and the army behaving admirably inside the fallen rebel enclave. Gowon was not the first man in history to be deceived by his field commanders into thinking everything was coming up roses, where only a few days before there had been death and starvation.

The press trip got off to a bad start. To begin with, the plane for Port Harcourt, which was supposed to leave at 8 A.M., didn't take on passengers until 4 P.M. Then the propellers stopped, everyone was ordered off, and the plane was turned over to minor government officials, friends of the family, and other revelers heading off to attend the wedding of the governor of the river state in Port Harcourt. Frustrated by what they thought was another case of WAWA (a colonial jibe meaning "West Africa wins again"), the assembled gentlemen and one lady (Brigid Bloom of the *Financial Times* of London) of the world press at first refused to leave the plane.

A young Nigerian lieutenant who later was to distinguish himself by obligingly shooting a drunken soldier in the foot, for the benefit of the photographers, seized the initiative.

"All right," he yelled, slamming the door. "Die inside." Power off, sun high in the sky, cabin sweltering, it was WAWA in less than nine minutes. But not for long. Some enterprising journalist, no doubt a news analyst or something more lofty, suddenly recalled that at that very minute Gowon was on the opposite side of the airfield, getting ready to meet U Thant. Hastily, a mini-demonstration of the assembled world press (minus a few drop outs at the thought of walking two miles in 100-degree heat) set out to confront Gowon in his exalted company with demands for immediate transportation to the former war area.

But a feisty little police captain cut it off in the airport parking lot with jarring logic.

"Stop. Do not cross this line," he cried, drawing a jagged line in the gravel with his swagger stick. "I will help you get to Port Harcourt. Remember, the police and the press are one!"

The thought that the police and the press are one

would have stopped Napoleon in his tracks at the gates of St. Petersburg, not to mention 80 wilted world journalists.

Short on helicopters and blimps, the Nigerian Army laid on what transportation it could to get the press trip off the ground. It consisted wholly of an oil company bus, which kept breaking down, and a long, open cattle truck that elicited low animal noises, oinks and baaaas, from its occupants whenever identification was solicited at a military check point. As a platform for photographers and stand-up comedians (who got fewer as the bumpy, dusty miles grew longer) the latter vehicle was admirable. And there was the added thrill of witnessing its 10-ton bulk rattle over a wooden bridge with a five-ton limit.

When the first press reports of rape and looting by the army, and massive snafus in relief distribution by the hastily assembled government apparatus began to trickle out, the ministry of information was openly, inconsolably and understandably furious.

Mort Rosenblum, the AP Lagos bureau chief, was shepherding my first copy onto the office Telex machine when the wire suddenly went dead. He rushed John Vinocur, from the AP Paris staff, over to the telegraph office to be sure no one else had bribed the operators into moving their copy ahead. Vinocur arrived just in time to see a press official shoving Brian Silk of the London *Daily Telegraph* up against the wall and confiscating his press card.

"What are you writing! You're killing us," he kept shouting. He took Silk's press card and several others.

"Where's yours," he confronted Vinocur.

"Me?" said Vinocur with a wounded innocence that immediately separated him from the world press. "I'm just a chauffeur."

"Then leave this building immediately!"

He did, gladly, press card intact.

Forty minutes later the wires came back on.

"Write what you want about us," Gowon peevishly told a press conference that afternoon. "You have all been against us from the start."

Meanwhile, back on the press trip, reporters were finding it as difficult to get out of fallen Biafra as it had been to get into two days before. Planes came and went but reporters were barred from them all.

Late one night, a delegation prevailed on the meek little press officer who accompanied us to enlist the aid of the Port Harcourt garrison commandant in requisitioning a plane from Lagos. The TV boys, in particular, were desperate to get their film out. The press officer, a kindly soul, prevailed on a sergeant to awaken the commandant. The commandant, who had retired with a bit of a head from the wedding festivities, showed his displeasure at being aroused for such trivialities by belting the sergeant across the chops with his swagger stick. Apparently all Nigerian officers sleep with their swagger sticks, in case of emergency.

For good riddance, he kicked the sergeant down the few steps leading from the bungalow. Since it was a barefooted attack, no real harm was done, except to the cause of the world press.

The press officer, like most of his daring breed, decided not to push it any further.

"Some of you cheeky fellows," he complained to Stan Meisler, "got me into trouble."

Lord Hunt, in behalf of the British government, visited fallen Biafra and found everything tickety-boo. The international observers, covering the same territory, were as guarded and evasive in their reports as only two Canadians, two Swedes, two Poles and two Britons in forced harmony can be. Then those 80 chaps known as the world press came out and the resulting headlines told of rape, pillage, looting, and starvation.

All lies, the government insisted.

But then the international observers released a slightly stronger report. And Lord Hunt changed his tune, a bit. And then a Pakistani general, acting as an observer for the United Nations, came out with a report that pretty much backed up the press reports of a victorious army out of control and a bogged down relief network.

What happened next?

Well, the government said things began to improve. But now, months later, people still ask: "What really happened inside Biafra?"

Well, the world press never got back into the war zone. It was declared off limits. Their press visas expired and were not renewed. The journal-

ists went home, without finding out whether things had improved or not.

Twenty years in this business has taught me that the term government information office is the highest form of oxymoron, with the emphasis on the last two syllables. Press trips, in particular, are incongruous: if you don't see what you are supposed to see or happen to see more than you were intended to see, you have broken the rules of the game. From the government point of view, any government sponsoring a press trip into a newsy area is a bit like Daniel laying out placecards in the lions' den. But governments, like Daniel, don't seem to expect the lions to attack.

As Sam Epelle, the 350-pound Nigerian press officer and expert on malnutrition, once maintained in a memorable exegesis on the war: "There is no starvation in Biafra . . . and besides, we didn't cause it, it's a situation we inherited."

Sam, it must be remembered, is the man who said that the Egyptian pilots flying the MIGS for the Nigerian Air Force weren't mercenaries because "by definition a mercenary doesn't work for the legally constituted government."

See?

Any questions?

Like when you get down to it, how do we really know all Gaul was divided into three parts? All we have is the word of an army flak named Julius Caesar—no world press. ♦

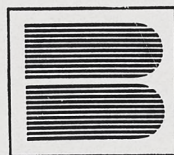


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BRANNIGAN'S STEW IN VIETNAM

by Bill Brannigan

"The trouble with almost all the writing that war correspondents did . . . was that it was built on press conferences and communiques. We used phrases the world understood to describe a war that was incomprehensible to the West,"—Thunder Out of China, T. H. White and Annalee Jacoby (1946)

Twenty years later and in yet another war in Asia, this criticism is inappropriate, though not entirely so.

An almost complete lack of censorship, a transportation system that is capable of carrying newsmen to almost any location where American troops are deployed, and a highly sophisticated and well-staffed information apparatus, both military and civilian, diminished the relative importance of press conference and communiqués as sources of news in Vietnam. Indeed, the American military and civilian establishment might, at times, prefer the war to be covered in the manner described above—it would certainly reduce the considerable friction that characterizes media and official relations in that war—but newsmen in Vietnam have many more sources of information than their counterparts in Chungking in World War Two.

The second sentence quoted above, however, is applicable in some degree of coverage in Vietnam. The war was, and remains incomprehensible to many citizens here at home; the many facets of the conflict in Vietnam have been only partially understood by a number of newsmen, military officers and civilian officials inside Vietnam itself.

The news corps in Vietnam, at any juncture, was as heterogeneous an assemblage of reporters as any that has ever covered a war. The rigors of combat put a premium on youth, the growing inconclusivity of the long conflict drew old hands as well to sift through the mountains of data, to go into the field, to ask the same set of lingering questions, again and again, of generals and privates, of civil officials, American and Vietnamese, and of other newsmen, domestic and foreign. Some of the newsmen were green as grass; some had merely been "passing through" when they decided to stay and report the war; others brought impeccable credentials to Saigon. Tours varied, from three months to "indefinite". High-powered prestigious newsmen visited occasionally; a few of them, it seemed, only in quest of a Saigon dateline or backdrop to file conclusions fully formed prior to arrival. At its peak the news corps in Vietnam numbered 649 (February 1968).

The only restriction imposed on newsmen was the duty to censor themselves, regarding imminent operations or troop movements. From January

1964 to June 1968, only four newsmen lost their accreditation in Vietnam.

The relationship of the news corps to officials both military and civilian, was cast early in the sixties. The sharp acrimony of those days persisted, though often in muted tones, to the end of the decade. Some officials and officers continued to arrive in Vietnam regarding the news media as an adversary nearly as dangerous as the Viet Cong; some newsmen continued to devote the major portion of the energies in attacking the contentions and operations of the U.S. and South Vietnamese establishment. Only at infrequent intervals did the acidity of this relationship subside to the traditional and healthy adversary relationship between the news media and government. This relationship may very well have contributed to the "incomprehensibility" of Vietnam.

The key to this "incomprehensibility" lies, I believe, in the way in which the problems in Vietnam were perceived, and the solutions applied, solutions formed out of the same perception. The dates: the late fifties and early sixties. The place: mostly Washington D.C. Memoirs and recollections of some of the officials involved (most recently Townsend Hoopes' *The Limits of Intervention*) describe the growing primacy of military over political considerations in seeking a favorable conclusion to the Vietnam war. (These various memoirs also shed considerable light on the gratuitous forsaking of options while trying to articulate just what a favorable solution would include.) Despite lengthy denials, particularly in the late sixties, that U.S. policy was designed to produce a military victory, the average citizen was hard put to find evidence that American policy had any higher priority than military success. With memories of Korea and World War Two still vivid, military officers, U.S. civil officials, and newsmen unpacked their bags in Vietnam. At home, the American public, with equally vivid memories of those earlier conflicts, digested the reports in the media, and from Washington. And the war grew, casualty lists grew, and success remained elusive, despite official contentions that "victory is just around the corner."

The military coverage became the most familiar aspect of the war to citizens here at home. There

were other stories filed from Vietnam, stories about "pacification," "infrastructure," "strategic hamlets" and a host of other new and strange terms in a war that has re-written military, diplomatic and newsdesk dictionaries. U.S. officials in Vietnam were often as eager as the newsmen to see these types of stories getting wide play in the media back home, but the audience simply wasn't there. Incomprehensibility is built into a situation where an urban Judeo-Christian society is being told about an agricultural, Confucian society. (And there were any number of people staffing news desks here in the U.S. who had difficulty grasping significance of dispatches arriving from Saigon.) A hell-for-leather firefight taxed no one's imagination, nor required a specialist's knowledge. "Pacification" however, was too often dismissed with an attitude expressed in an obscene slogan that enjoyed a certain vogue in U.S. military ranks: "Grab them by the b----, and their hearts and minds will follow."

There were any number of journalists who were trying to educate their audiences to the nuances of the conflict in Vietnam, but there was precious little encouragement to do so. The tone for this discouragement had been set some time earlier, at high places in the U.S. Government (probably about the time that military considerations began to take precedence over political considerations in forming policy). Serious students of the Vietnamese situation, men like the late Bernard Fall, were dismissed as cranks. Despite the official disclaimers, U.S. strategy appeared to be based on the time-honored traditions of Normandy and Iwo Jima.

The very nature of this war resisted measurement, but a host of yardsticks were created to attempt measurement of progress. From the military, newsmen were given the concept of "body counts"; the civilian side of the enterprise introduced computerized measurements of the attitudes of rural South Vietnamese civilians. More familiar yardsticks such as bombing tonnages, were supplemented with statistics on acreage under cultivation, rice prices, variety and volume of food commodities, and of modern goods such as motorbikes and television sets. The statistics inundated the American public; their eyes remained fixed on the battlefield for the first signs of success. The upward trends of the charts were taken as concrete proof that U.S. strategy was paying off.

The U.S. government itself, never hesitant to get into the public relations business, plunged in deeply in 1967. General Westmoreland came home twice, Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker once, to publicly voice their optimism before large audiences. Washington officials could brandish similarly optimistic reports at the drop of a reporter's notebook.

Then, in January 1968, the USS *Pueblo* was seized by the North Koreans, and seven days later, the Viet Cong were fighting on the lawn of the U.S. Embassy in Saigon.

The *Tet* offensive cast sharp doubts on all the indicators so triumphantly displayed over the past months. The ability of the attackers (described not long before as being reduced to fighting from the international borders of Vietnam) to carry the battle into the heart of urban centers all over the country produced a deep mood of pessimism in Vietnam as well as in the U.S.

Those of us who were there reporting transmitted genuinely-felt shock to our audiences back home. Even today, two years later, most newsmen who were there then can recall events in sharp detail; their movements down certain streets, their reflections day-by-day as the counteroffensive gradually pushed the invaders out of the cities. The shock *was* genuine; the glowing pronouncements of the previous months had left us vulnerable. We were unprepared for the scenes that confronted us in those days. Rice paddies and jungles were dangerous places, not the Phu Tho racetrack in Saigon. Street fighting was not the long suit in the Vietnam war correspondent's bag of experience. At least not until *Tet*, 1968.

From the start of the offensive, U.S. military headquarters claimed a stunning defeat for the enemy. The body count figures soared, and as attacking forces were driven back, the failure of the enemy to generate a popular uprising (one of the announced goals of the enemy's offensive) was pointed to by American officials as yet another indicator of the enemy's miscalculations. We were told the U.S. military intelligence had anticipated the offensive well in advance of the actual attack. There was no reason to doubt that intelligence indicated large numbers of enemy troops were on the move, but there's considerable doubt that these same sources had accurate information about the enemy's target priorities. The U.S. Embassy would have been more heavily protected, and Hue would not have fallen almost completely into enemy hands.

The very tactics of the allied counteroffensive in the days and weeks following *Tet* reinforced the mood of pessimism in Vietnam. Residential areas were blasted by rockets from helicopters and conventional artillery. The civilians who survived were jammed into impromptu refugee centers, and the South Vietnamese government foundered in bureaucratic chaos in attempting to combat this new crisis. Few people in those violent days of February 1968 could estimate what was happen-

ing in the countryside where governmental forces and presence had withdrawn to defend the population centers.

The shock of *Tet* deeply disturbed the U.S. public. Those who had been living with a growing unease about the war now spoke out against U.S. policy. The official claims of a great enemy defeat fell on skeptical ears. The *Tet* offensive, and immediate doubts about U.S. policy in Vietnam triggered a series of unprecedented political and social phenomena in the U.S. in 1968 that continued to multiply irrespective of later developments in Vietnam itself. There was little public attention paid to the way the Saigon government eventually did resume functioning, the less than disastrous impact of the offensive in the rural areas, the staggering loss of life suffered by the enemy. These developments were reported, but the public now had little stomach for news from Vietnam. There would be no U.S. military victory there, and the time had passed when the complexities of a socio-political campaign, with military protection, could find an eager audience in the American public.

Whatever the outcome in Vietnam, there will always be some people in the American military and government who believe that the news media severely frustrated U.S. policy aims in Vietnam. There will also be those within the news media who subscribe to the theory that U.S. officials and commanders in Vietnam belonged to a conspiracy of deliberate distortion and misrepresentation. That this war should generate such extreme attitudes among officials and newsmen should come as no surprise; it has generated the same extremism among ordinary citizens.

There certainly was distortion on both sides; but I've seen very little evidence that it was deliberate in most cases. Certainly, a better atmosphere should have been created between the media and the establishment in the wake of the acrimonious early sixties, but I don't know how that could have been accomplished under the existing personnel rotation systems pursued by both parties. It wasn't possible to transfer practical experience in Vietnam to incoming newsmen any more than it was possible to do the same to newly arrived majors or civilian province advisers. Personal rapport between newsmen and officials was a transitory thing, contingent on either party's "go home" date. Effective officials who generated trust and belief among newsmen completed their tours and left. There was no guarantee that their replacements wouldn't be ineffective and even suspicious of all newsmen. The reverse was true also, and the

weakness of the rotation system applied even more sharply to the military situation, where the one year tour was the norm. Some very firm, healthy and respected relationships developed between newsmen on the one hand and military and government officials on the other, but these were not obtained in the majority of cases.

With the rapid turnover characterizing official, military and media operations, the "incomprehensibility" of Vietnam was a powerful factor in performance in all camps. And it remains so in the third leg of the classic media-government and public triangle. In 1970, after the long U.S. involvement in Vietnam, a newsman who served there still finds himself fielding some very elementary questions about the war from otherwise well-informed audiences.

The conflict in Vietnam need not have remained "incomprehensible." A government that has thoroughly examined its own assumptions in formulating policy and continually reevaluated strategy could have successfully raised the level of public sophistication to accept that policy. This of course takes time. When a government is engaged in a conflict that has been accepted as largely military in nature, and then, produces, at least temporarily, a military setback, such as the *Tet* offensive, the government cannot suddenly begin to attach primary importance to non-military factors. The public's gears don't shift that fast. The media's coverage of the *Tet* offensive in particular and the war in general may be partially responsible for the gradual erosion of public support for U.S. policy in Vietnam. But was this support ever based on any understanding of what was involved in Vietnam? Or was it just a vague sort of patriotism, blind in the belief that the strategists in Washington must know what they're doing? I think it was the latter. The reports from Vietnam were digested by a public that had not been prepared by the government for the realities of Vietnam, only the sentimentality of the American involvement.

Walter Lippman has called Vietnam "... a war that nobody believed in particularly anyway ... nobody ever had it explained to them ... nobody could explain the reason for it ..." "Incomprehensibility" marked the government's formulation of policy and tactics, certainly some of its execution in Vietnam, some of the reportage of the war, and most definitely public attitudes regarding Vietnam. The techniques of warfare and of coverage have changed radically since Theodore H. White and Annalee Jacoby wrote *Thunder Out of China*; apparently Western comprehension of Asian society and Asian conflict has progressed very little. ♦



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ON THE ENEMY AS A LEGITIMATE NEWS SOURCE

by Col. George G. Loving, Jr.

My thoughts on our struggle in Vietnam . . . Over the years past, I have never blinked at providing realistic and timely advice on this struggle. Several points deserve mention:

First, the deeply important—perhaps ever decisive—role of our free, and often freely swinging communications media, in presenting this complex war to the American people.

Secondly, and an outgrowth of the first point, the magnitude of the resultant confusion and dissent on the domestic scene which figures as our enemy's principal strategic lever against us.

—General Earl G. Wheeler
24 September 1969

The greatest propaganda coup of the Vietnam war, according to the *Telegram* of Toronto, was scored by the North Vietnam Communists when they permitted a responsible newsman, Harrison Salisbury of the *New York Times*, to report from Hanoi in late 1966 and early 1967. Salisbury's visit and the visits of Bill Baggs of the *Miami News* and Correspondent David Schoenbrun later in 1967 established the high-water mark of Hanoi's successful efforts to use the U.S. media to stop the bombing of North Vietnam. Not since World War II had propaganda been employed so effectively on a strategic level.

The campaign of air strikes against North Vietnam, which was initiated in February 1965, constituted the offensive element of the overall United States military strategy in Southeast Asia. Although allied ground forces in South Vietnam have, in the main, conducted tactical offensive operations, they were and still are strategically on the defensive, operating against an invading army

which chooses the time and place of attack. In the North and South Vietnam, its aggression in the initiative and conducted an offensive, forcing the enemy to react at the time and places of our choosing. The bombing campaign was designed to convince Hanoi that, on the basis of the situation in North and South Vietnam, its aggression in the South was both unsuccessful and exceedingly costly to the extent that it would not be rational to continue.

The bombing offensive in the North sought to: 1. reduce the flow of external assistance being provided to North Vietnam; 2. destroy those military and industrial resources that contributed most to the support of aggression; and 3. harass, disrupt and impede movement of men and material into South Vietnam. There is no question that the bombing, which was directed against military targets and accomplished with tactics designed to cause the least possible damage to civilians and non-military facilities, hurt North Vietnam very badly. Admiral Ulysses S. G. Sharp, who as Commander in Chief, Pacific had overall responsibility for the bombing campaign, reported in testimony before the U.S. Senate Preparedness Investigating Subcommittee on Armed Services in 1967:

Although initiated with modest efforts and slowly expanded under carefully controlled conditions, the growing weight of our efforts has brought extensive destruction or disruption of North Vietnam's war-

* The views and opinions expressed herein are those of the author and do not imply the endorsement of the Department of Defense or other agencies of the U.S. Government.

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supporting resources. Approximately half of the country's war-supporting industry has been destroyed or disrupted. Petroleum has been widely dispersed in a costly and inefficient small container storage system. The bulk of primary electric power capacity has been destroyed, with adverse effect on the chemical, rubber, and other power-dependent industries. The country's only iron and steel plant and its single cement plant have been put out of operation. Many of the country's military complexes have been attacked. Strikes on road, rail and water routes have taken a heavy toll of trucks, rolling stock, boats, barges, a portion of which have not been replaced. Bombing of the rail lines and truck routes has significantly interdicted traffic and forced a major repair and reconstruction effort. Hundreds of enemy waterborne logistic craft have been destroyed or damaged by bombs and naval gunfire.

The campaign has curtailed the infiltration of men and material into South Vietnam. A complete stoppage of infiltration was never anticipated. However, we have reduced the level of infiltration, especially of material, well below that which would be possible if traffic were left unimpeded. This has served to limit considerably the enemy's ability to conduct major, sustained operations in South Vietnam. We continue to seek improved means of interdicting enemy forces and supplies in this area.

As a result of the increased weight and efficiency of our attacks, the Hanoi regime faces mounting logistic, management, and morale problems. Repair, reconstruction, and dispersal programs are consuming increasing human and material resources which otherwise would contribute to the Communists' combat capability in South Vietnam. We believe about 500,000 men have been diverted to such activities. As a matter of fact, the latest estimate that I have seen is 500,000 to 600,000. The extensive defense programs are heavy users of manpower. The draw down on farm labor has reduced food production, and large amounts of food now have to be imported. The ports are congested by an almost four-fold expansion of sea imports necessitated by disruption or destruction of domestic sources of cement, steel and other bulky materials. Ship unloading time is believed to have tripled since March.

Hanoi exerted an enormous effort, using modern weapons provided by her Communist allies, to defeat the bombing offensive by force of arms. Although the hundreds of high caliber anti-aircraft guns and surface-to-air missiles, the swarm of MIGs and the thousands of hand-held weapons employed by North Vietnam took their toll of U.S. aircraft, the massive Communist defense effort failed to deter so much as a single bombing raid.

But Hanoi didn't rely on the force of arms alone. Within a few hours of the time the first bombs fell on targets on North Vietnam—bombs which were directed against PT boat bases in retaliation for attacks on the U.S.S. Maddox and U.S.S. Turner Joy—Hanoi launched a propaganda campaign aimed at stopping the bombing. This occurred on August 5, 1964, almost seven months before air attacks were undertaken on a continuous basis. On that date, Hanoi Radio (Domestic Service) identified the principal target of the propaganda campaign: "The Vietnamese Peoples' Army High Command vehemently protests and denounces, before public opinion at home and abroad, the ...

acts of aggression . . ." An editorial in a Hanoi newspaper the next day confirmed the target:

We denounce before world public opinion the U.S. imperialist's war promoting acts against the northern part of our country . . . we call on world public opinion, particularly U.S. public opinion, to sternly condemn the U.S. ruling circles and demand that they immediately give up their plots and plans of provoking war and aggression against Vietnam.

On August 8, 1964, three days after the attack on the North Vietnam PT boat bases, Ho Chi Minh, in a cabled response to a UPI query, provided further evidence of the direction Hanoi's stop-the-bombing propaganda campaign would take:

I wish to tell public opinion in the United States and throughout the world about the indignation and wrath of our entire people at the U.S. Government's deliberate acts of aggression against the DVR.

. . . I earnestly call on the American people and the peoples of the world over to unite their efforts with a view of stopping their criminal aggression against our country and safeguarding peace.

Like Adolf Hitler's World War II propaganda assault on Germany's neighbors, the North Vietnam campaign was designed to discourage and divide, and thereby induce segments of the American public to press the government for an end to the bombing. The Communist campaign adhered faithfully to the German model in considerable detail and sought to:

- Convince Americans that United States actions were immoral and that they had no right to victory; North Vietnamese, on the other hand, were pictured as noble patriots, fighting for a just cause.

- Undermine American confidence in victory, while stressing North Vietnam's successes and the certainty of Communist triumph.

- Confuse understanding of the complex issues involved and convince the U.S. public that its leaders were not acting in America's best interest.

In pursuit of these objectives, Hanoi employed nine principal propaganda themes which in due time became familiar to every American who had regular exposure to the U.S. media. The plain fact is that without the use of the American media, North Vietnam propaganda could not have effectively reached the American public. After all, how many Americans listen to Hanoi Radio via short wave? Certainly not many, but still Americans were exposed regularly to the full range of Hanoi's propaganda—complete with all of the distortions which were embodied therein. The nine propaganda themes which found their way into the U.S. media, together with some examples of Hanoi's supporting lines, make discouraging reading to the knowledgeable and objective American:

1. The United States is the aggressor.

- "U.S. imperialism is the aggressor. It must stop its air attacks on the North . . ."

- North Vietnam is the innocent victim of U.S. aggression.
- 2. North Vietnam is fighting for a sacred, righteous cause.
 - "... there is nothing more sacred than independence and freedom."
 - The people of North Vietnam are fighting to reunite the people of their country. Self-determination is the right of all people.
- 3. The U.S. bombing campaign is inhuman and immoral.
 - Attacks have been carried out against populated areas, inflicting many casualties among civilians, including women and children.
 - The United States is attempting to terrorize the population, and has deliberately destroyed churches, schools and hospitals.
- 4. The U.S. action is illegal.
 - It is a violation of the 1954 Geneva Agreements and of international law with regard to the sovereignty of states and the right of self-determination.
 - The bombing is a crime against the Vietnamese people and the attacking pilots are war criminals.
- 5. The bombing is costly to the United States.
 - Hundreds of U.S. planes costing in the millions of dollars have been shot down by the defenders of North Vietnam.
 - U.S. domestic programs are suffering from neglect as a result of money spent on the war.
- 6. The United States cannot win.
 - The bombing is militarily useless and has failed to weaken North Vietnam resolve or its ability to carry on the war.
 - "Our people are determined to persevere in the fight and undergo sacrifice for 10 to 20 years or a longer time until final victory..."
- 7. The "strong" is attacking the "weak."
 - North Vietnam is a small primitive country, populated by a shy, wonderful and brave people fighting to preserve their independence.
 - North Vietnam has been attacked by the most powerful state in the world which is intent on destroying it.
- 8. North Vietnam has many friends and world opinion supports us.
 - The socialist states are solidly behind North Vietnam; any widening of the war may bring severe consequences.
 - World opinion everywhere is against the United States.
- 9. The bombing is the main obstacle to peace.
 - If the bombing is stopped, peace will be possible.

Hanoi's propaganda apparatus made use of the full range of communication means to reach the American public—radio broadcasts in English, films for television and movie use, pamphlets, periodicals and books, and a news service to feed material to the world media and willing collaborators in the United States and elsewhere. Journalists, government agencies and various other groups and

individuals in Communist countries supported Hanoi's campaign, both as relays of North Vietnam propaganda and as originators. Hanoi found help in non-Communist countries as well, particularly among "peace groups" and others who were bent on embarrassing the United States. Within the United States, several categories of individuals and groups gave support to Hanoi's propaganda objectives—some willingly and many others unwittingly. Among the first category were those who were friendly to North Vietnam's cause—extreme left wing groups, Communists, fellow travelers, and others. Another category included those who, while not necessarily sympathetic to Hanoi's objectives and methods, did pursue goals which had the effect of supporting North Vietnam's stop-the-bombing campaign. This group included some pacifists and various peace groups, for example, who were pushing for an end to the war and wanted the United States to take the first step by stopping the bombing. Critics of the Administration—particularly prominent Americans, many of whom held honest differences—regularly provided grist for Hanoi's propaganda mill. Their comments, as well as any other significant signs of dissention in the U.S. with regard to the bombing, were incorporated swiftly into North Vietnam propaganda and "played back" to the United States and again and again to gain "double mileage" from any such unwitting help.

Hanoi did not enjoy direct access to the American public to any meaningful extent. Instead the Communists were forced to rely on the American media as their principal means of reaching Americans. Without the communication conduit provided by the American media, Hanoi's efforts to defeat U.S. airpower with words would have been about as effective as a rusty cap pistol. For the most part, the American media simply served as a transmission belt, conveying without challenge or comment a steady flow of material, statements and reports which were either instigated by North Vietnam or inspired by Hanoi's propaganda efforts. But in some cases anti-war editorial policies spilled over into news reporting and Hanoi's distortions were deliberately pushed as fact. The most effective technique employed by Hanoi to promote propaganda was its program of regulated visits to North Vietnam. Entry into the country was restricted initially to those who could be expected to be friendly to the regime's cause—Communist newsmen, fellow travelers and other who were in sympathy with North Vietnam and critical of American policy. The few others who gained entry were predominantly Americans who found their movements restricted to guided tours designed to elicit reports which would support Hanoi's propaganda themes. Such visitors, even though relatively unknown in the United States, were granted interviews with high North Vietnam officials, so that proper notice would be taken by the world media of Hanoi's latest announcements. P. J. Honey, Lecturer in Vietnamese Studies at the School of Ori-

ental and African Studies of the University of London, described such visits as follows:

Occasionally, someone from the West visits North Viet-Nam and emerges a week or two later to dazzle the world with a penetrating analysis of the political and economic situation—plus a complete run-down on popular feelings there. No one questions his judgment because after all, he is a rare eyewitness. But such visits are virtually worthless. They are contrived and controlled by the Communist propaganda machine. The visitor is carefully screened in advance to ensure that he is likely to express the required opinions. An interview is arranged with the President and Prime minister to enhance his claim to speak with authority. He is shown selected Socialist achievements. He cannot speak to a single inhabitant besides those planted to 'enlighten' him with rehearsed pieces, or overheard a single unguarded remark, or read a single newspaper, because all foreigners who speak Vietnamese are excluded from the country.

While such visits were "virtually worthless" insofar as obtaining a balanced viewpoint is concerned, they reaped enormous propaganda benefit for North Vietnam.

The apogee of Hanoi's successful effort to use the U.S. media to stop the bombing came in late 1966 and early 1967. This was the period during which the first U.S. journalists were admitted to North Vietnam. Harrison E. Salisbury of the *New York Times* was the first, followed closely by Bill Baggs of the *Miami News*. Later in 1967 David Schoenbrun was admitted. In between, representatives of various peace groups and others who were outspokenly critical of the U.S. policy were given conducted tours so that they too could report to the world on what they had been allowed to see and had been told.

Harrison Salisbury's dispatches received wide attention. It seems likely that he was selected as the first correspondent admitted to North Vietnam because his newspaper, the *New York Times*, had been a constant critic of U.S. policy and as America's most prestigious newspaper would provide an unmatched means of communication. Salisbury's dispatches, as well as subsequent TV interviews and his book which was published later in 1967, embodied or supported by implication many of Hanoi's propaganda themes. Damage to civilian areas, civilian casualties, the resolute determination of the North Vietnamese to prevail, the "failure" of bombing and its cost to the United States. These were some of the themes of his messages to the American people. And, of course, he conveyed Hanoi's carrot—the sly suggestion that if we stopped the bombing, peace might well follow. His critics felt that he had misrepresented the true nature of our use of airpower in North Vietnam and had provided enormous support to Hanoi in so doing. Keyes Beech said, "Hanoi has scored a smashing propaganda victory by the simple expedient of admitting a single American newsman to report what everybody ought to know by now: When bombs fall on populated places, people get killed." The *Economist* noted, "The dispatches

from Hanoi of Mr. Harrison Salisbury, which have been printed in the *New York Times* this week, must have convinced the North Vietnamese that they acted shrewdly in deciding to admit him." Evidently the *Economist* was correct since Hanoi admitted other newsmen, as we have mentioned, and continued to benefit from this means of propagandizing the American public.

Columnist Crosby S. Noyes said this about such visits:

No matter how conscientious the visiting reporters may try to be, it is inevitable that what they see and hear will serve the cause of the enemy and further confuse opinion at home. These dispatches are already being seized on by domestic critics who for years have done everything in their power to subvert the effort in Vietnam.

From the outset the great hope of the Communists has been that public dissension in the United States will force the government to abandon its effort. How can the presence of American reporters in Hanoi fail to nourish these illusions and prolong the war?

And what is the American public supposed to make of it?

The public is told by the government that a vital national interest is at stake in Vietnam. In the large majority, they are prepared to believe it to the extent of sending 400,000 of their sons to fight and perhaps to die half way around the world.

But how long will they go on believing it as long as this same government allows its own credibility to be undermined by the same people it is fighting?

Or is this war, after all, so half-baked that there is no such thing as an enemy who can be given aid and comfort, no such thing as loyalty for people out of military uniform and no national interest apart from what every individual decided for himself? If so, someone had better start explaining away what those 400,000 American soldiers are doing in Vietnam.

Hanoi's success in "using" the U.S. media to divide, discourage and confuse Americans with respect to the bombing—and ultimately to convince many that the United States should abandon its strategic offensive against North Vietnam—raises a number of questions for the American media. Americans cherish their free communication media, knowing well its relationship to personal freedom. But surely responsibility must accompany freedom, and especially so when critical foreign policy issues are involved and the country is at war. Among the questions that the media itself must face are two which are fundamental:

- In exercising the right of freedom of the press by expressing opposition to governmental policies, does not the U.S. media have a responsibility to avoid providing aid and comfort to the enemy and to avoid undermining the morale of U.S. armed forces and citizenry?

- Does not the U.S. media have a special responsibility to be fully aware of enemy propaganda efforts and take particular care to avoid being used by the enemy? ♦



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MINE EYES HAVE SEEN THE CENSOR

by Burnet Hershey

Two very young GI newscasters are in the military dog-house today because they accused the U.S. Command of wielding the censor's scissors on their stuff—"suppressing unfavorable news and having our scripts distorted." One of these young Army broadcasters, on his Armed Forces Radio show, exploded a bomb as deadly as any mortar salvo when he told his listeners that he and his buddies were "not free to tell the truth."

Specialist S/Robert Lawrence said that he and eight other members of the news staff had signed

a letter asking the Army network for a clear definition of censorship policy. He said the request "was totally ignored." He also charged that "significant network news reports concerning the Vietnamese government, a local peace demonstration, and black market activities in Saigon recently were banned" from the network. He also said that he had been told that he could not select film for the war portions of his telecasts because his choices were unfavorable to the South Vietnamese government.

Now in the semantic jungle where we swing



from tree to tree—and often hang ourselves by our own rope—this started out as the old and tired gripe of the “credibility gap.” Then it sprouted into a hassle about “military justice.” Now, it seems it has finally burst its army-beef cocoon and has emerged as what it really is—the complaint of the “generation gap.” Maybe in Saigon it was blown up to look like a freedom-of-the-press issue. At home we have been living with the Agnew-Mitchell controversies, the network jousts, and the public and private autopsies on the communications profession, so why all the concern with a couple of GI newscasters, one of whom was ordered back to driving a truck, while the other probably was assigned to a tour of latrine duty.

Not to overstate its importance, but the entire matter may now have to undergo reexamination and perhaps a Defense Department revision of the rules laid down in all three big wars for the establishment and conduct of field press censorship in combat areas. Specifically, it may call for a reappraisal of the rules governing armed forces news and newsmen.

Everyone knows and understands that both the military and the civilian press have been arguing about freedom and censorship for over half a century. Historical analysis of the ground rules discloses that, while the controversy may have existed in every war, there have been periodic adjustments and even a measure of liberalization. As a matter of fact, because the Vietnam war is not a “declared” war, no formal censorship has actually existed.

The Basic Field Manual, with its insistence on compliance by all communications media has always existed. It has never changed and remains as rigid as the oath of loyalty. A capsulated statement of its principal objectives is worth noting:

Field press censorship (says the army), will be governed by the principle that the maximum of information will be released to the public with a minimum time consumed in review, while denying the enemy information which would enable him to

prosecute the war more effectively. Following this principle, news material will be released unless it:

1. Will supply military information of value to the enemy; or
2. Will have an adverse effect upon the combat efficiency of our forces or those of our allies; or
3. Is false or inaccurate in respects which are detrimental to our forces or those of our allies and of service to the enemy.

It is emphasized that field press censorship is exercised for security only, and that news material will not be deleted or stopped on policy grounds. The field press censor is concerned only with preventing the transmission of information which will aid the enemy. His authority will not be used to prevent the transmission of news upon the grounds of anticipated adverse reaction by the American public.

Fundamentally, no American has ever quarreled with these basic assumptions. And, much freedom has been allowed which cuts the censor down to tolerable size.

No dispatches between army censors and newsmen were more abrasive than the storms which were kicked up by General Pershing in World War I and General MacArthur in the Korean War. Only a handful of correspondents are alive today who remember the rebelliousness of the *New York Tribune* correspondent in World War I, Heywood Brown—the brittle, non-conforming muckraker of his time; or the angry, youthful Westbrook Pegler who attacked censorship; or Floyd Gibbons, then sans eye-patch, with his irreverent, almost contemptuous approach to the military leadership; or Tom Johnson (former OPC Vice-President, now living in St. Paul); or Wythe Williams (founder President of the OPC) and their challenges of brass and censor in dispatch after dispatch. Some of these men had their accreditation revoked and were sent home; others were disciplined in various ways. But none of them ever knowingly jeopardized their country's security or honor.

Perhaps it is all best summed up by the long forgotten sign, crudely painted by Lt. Gerald Morgan, a top-drawer magazine writer of his time, and a pal of Richard Harding Davis, who became Pershing's chief censor. Censorship headquarters consisted of an old store in the city of Neufchateau. I think it had formerly been a bakery and it had the usual iron shutters under which was the proprietor's name. Here, through a roughly constructed cage, the American war correspondents covering World War I passed their dispatches to the censors who were working in the rear. Right over the cage, so that it could be seen by all, was a little sign in a tar-nished gilt frame which read:

THE GREATEST STORY IN THE WORLD
IS NOT WORTH THE LIFE OF ONE AMERICAN SOLDIER.

Have you ever read Black Jack Pershing's wire to the War Department at a critical moment in the AEF annals? Tough as he was on the subject of censorship, Pershing passed this legacy on to Marshall, and Marshall must have handed it down to Eisenhower:

REGRET THAT—WORD—REACHED PRESS CORRESPONDENTS RESULTING IN SUBMISSION OF ARTICLES WHICH CENSOR HAS HELD NOT BECAUSE OF MISREPRESENTATION, BUT IN ORDER TO AVOID APPEARANCE OF OUR PRESENTING THROUGH PRESS MATTERS ALREADY SENT YOU OFFICIALLY. SUPPRESSING THESE DISPATCHES SUBJECTS US HERE TO CHARGES OF KEEPING BACK INFORMATION WHICH PRESS REASONABLY CLAIM AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE ENTITLED TO KNOW. SUCH VIEWS MUST UNDOUBTEDLY REACH PUBLIC IN SOME MANNER, AS CRITICISM SEEMS INEVITABLE. PROBABLY BEST NOT WAIT UNTIL IT IS PUBLISHED FROM HOSTILE SOURCE BUT ACCEPT IT FROM FRIENDLY SOURCE INSTEAD. RECOMMEND, THEREFORE, RELEASE TO CORRESPONDENTS STORIES INVOLVING TEMPERATE CRITICISMS ON SUPPLY DEVELOPMENTS WHERE THEY ARE KNOWN TO BE WELL FOUNDED. EARLY ACTION A REQUEST.

PERSHING

To emphasize how muddled official thinking had been about censorship, the very liberal Secretary of War, Newton Baker, cabled his answer to the conservative, rigid soldier, Pershing: it was an emphatic "No."

All these restrictions, rules, do's and don't's were later expanded by an announcement that our State Department considered it "dangerous and of service to the enemy" to discuss differences of opinions among the Allies or difficulties with neutral nations. Finally, it was added that even speculation about peace might be dangerous!

Thus American newspapers had general principles to follow, but were forced to use their own judgment in conforming to them. No responsibility was accepted by the censorship organization, and the newspapers which made serious errors in judgment were subject to prose-

cution under the Espionage Act of 1917. This act imposed a maximum penalty of \$10,000 fine and twenty years imprisonment upon those who interfered with draft operations or made false statements with intent to retard the success of the armed forces or attempted to incite disloyalty—the last being an especially ambiguous phrase. The act was later amended to include anyone who discouraged the sale of Government bonds; obstructed the making of loans by or to the United States; incited subordination, disloyalty, or mutiny; uttered, printed, wrote or published any "disloyal, profane, scurrilous or abusive language about the form of government of the United States," its Constitution, armed forces, or uniform; issued language intended to bring them into "contempt, scorn, contumely or disrepute;" discouraged production of war necessities; or taught, defended, or suggested the doing of any of those things. Possibly this system begun under the initial war hysteria which swept the country in 1917, might have been modified if the war had lasted longer. As it was, war censorship was still in effect at the time of the Versailles peace negotiations, and American correspondents there found themselves, like their colleagues of other countries, apparently doomed to be shut out from the essential meetings of a conference which was showing scant respect for President Wilson's advocacy of "open covenants, openly arrived at." The way was now paved for newsmen and press officers alike to profit—but only partially—by the mistakes made in that first big war.

When World War II broke out, a more efficient, more sophisticated information branch had been conceived, full of promising beginnings, although a lot of improvising went on. By the time General Eisenhower had been given his command, the framework for a press and censorship section was ready to function. It turned out to be a gigantic operation with, eventually, some 1500 journalists, writers, photographers, radio broadcasters and artists accredited, indoctrinated and shipped to the scene of the action. To this small army was added the large corps of combat correspondents, whose place in the war-time apparatus of the U.S.A. had just really been established. One could hardly call the World War I *Stars and Stripes* a combat newspaper, nor its brilliant editors and reporters, combat correspondents. In World War II Alexander Woollcott, a frying pan strapped to his bulging waist and a shawl over his dirty uniform, spent some nights in the French mud dodging shrapnel. In Korea and Vietnam over one hundred combat newsmen lost their lives. Sixty-two of this number died covering the news in Vietnam.

The first few weeks after censorship was imposed in Korea, there were a few mistakes, a certain amount of confusion, and many publicly aired arguments. Most of this was due to the fact that both censors and correspondents were as yet unfamiliar with all the censorship regulations and the army's do's and don't's. This soon became the

old problem of how to balance freedom of the press with military security. Added to this were political considerations and the sensitivities of more than a dozen "allies" of this United Nations "police action." General MacArthur and his two-star press officer were giving the boys a hard time. For example, double censorship was imposed and caused a veritable black-out of news from Korea. Under the plan, all news stories from Korea first had to be cleared by 8th Army censors and then transmitted to MacArthur's headquarters in Tokyo for double checking. The irony of this "security" plan was the fact that all news from Korea moved by telephone or teletype which could be monitored by the Reds or anyone else. One correspondent who attempted to write about censorship had his first story killed by MacArthur's censors.

During war, songs celebrating a variety of topics spring up, and it was inevitable that war correspondents should have songs about the censor. The Korean war song was sung to the tune of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic," and it went as follows:

Mine eyes have seen the censor with the copy
on his knee;

He was striking out the passages that mean
the most to me;

This sentence hurts morale as it's defined
in Section Three—

This passage must come out.

And the chorus goes:

Glory, glory to the censor,

Glory, glory to the censor,

Glory, glory to the censor,

This passage must come out.

Something happened between the wars that influenced a few changes in press and censorship management. It had nothing to do with how to handle unruly correspondents or how to set up barricades against them. From a half century of experience in our three big wars I was able to put my finger on this change. *The declension of the brass hat had taken place.* I recognized the final stage when I ran into some officers with whom I had worked in Africa and Europe. There they were just commonplace human beings in undistinguished mufti, on their way to one of the innumerable monthly board meetings of a military industrial complexity. One was en route to the Blue Ridge mountains to play golf. He was not even called to Washington when war came again. Some had remained admirals and generals in the world of public relations, others had taken to writing books, and some tried a little politics.

New, younger officers replaced them and they took another look at the rules, rules, rules, and some of those rules got a real trimming. Vietnam has been a tough, but fairly untrammelled beat, because of some of these young officers. But they had to learn from the older ones. Not just about the new instruments which had increased the range, speed and variety of mass communications, but

lessons about reporters and photographers and their problems and responsibilities. Eisenhower must have learned from Pershing that you cannot tamper with public opinion at home and that censorship was a hot potato.

Westmoreland, Abrams and Wheeler inherited the books from Eisenhower and Bradley and unquestionably brought the press and armed forces into the new decade, and the Vietnam war into its proper perspective—as a political, ideological war. Of course, there are still many smoldering differences over the quality of reporting. Newsmen themselves are divided on matters of editorial vs. factual dispatches, the credibility of U.S. officials and criticism of ARVN and of Saigon politicians.

These men were sons of World War I, they had fought World War II and Korea and they have no intention of leaving World War III to be finished by *their* sons. They may not yet be sure how that can be prevented; it is not yet within the scope of their objective. But it will not be forgotten or neglected.

How well aware they are of the irresponsibility of the 1918 veterans. Ernie Pyle once put it in one quoted sentence: "Those bluenoses back home better not try to put prohibition over on us while we're away this time!" That was an immediate objective because they regarded it as an immediate danger. And in the future each such threat will be resisted in turn as it presents itself clearly, but not in raucous voices of doom and rebellion.

In France, censorship was always represented by cartoonists as a crabbed old maid, armed with an enormous pair of scissors. She was known as *Anastasia*.

Anastasia and I are old friends, I have known the old gal during three wars, the big Peace Conference in Paris, and at some 27-odd subsequent conferences in various parts of the world. So just as it is logical and necessary to protect people against adulterated food and drugs, so is it imperative in war-time that we protect this vast, newspaper-reading and radio- and TV-conscious people of ours against the dangerous defeatist ideas which lurk in enemy propaganda or in dissident voices which play into enemy hands.

I am NOT in favor of a censorship which destroys the freedom of the American press, erects a wall for the protection of inept authority in charge of the fighting and winds up in the creation of a 'canned news' press.

I am opposed to the kind of censorship which infringes on our civil liberties. To the vigilant and critical correspondents who have lived and functioned in the free atmosphere of Congressional press galleries, censorship is a bitter pill to swallow. For those American newsmen who have served under censorship-ridden general staffs of Europe and Asia, and behind the Iron Curtain, the American censor holds hardly any terror at all.



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BROAD JUMPING THE CREDIBILITY GAP

by Will Sparks

To write news in its perfection requires such a combination of qualities that a man completely fitted for the task is not always to be found. In Sir Henry Wooton's jocular definition, an ambassador is a man of virtue sent abroad to tell lies for the advantage of his country; a newswriter is a man without virtue who writes lies at home for his own profit. To these compositions is required neither genius nor knowledge, neither industry nor sprightliness; but contempt of shame and indifference to truth are absolutely necessary. He who by long familiarity with infamy has obtained these qualities may confidently tell today what he intends to contradict tomorrow; he may affirm fearlessly what he knows that he shall be obliged to recant, and may write letters from Amsterdam or Dresden to himself.

—Samuel Johnson

This estimate, pre-dating the birth of the American Republic and authored by the inventor of the dictionary, nicely summarizes the Establishment view of journalists in all times and places. God knows what Dr. Johnson would have thought about television commentators, but one suspects that he would not have been unkind to Spiro Agnew.

There is no need to recite the common opinion of the Fourth Estate concerning the Establishment. It can be heard any afternoon or evening at the bar of the National Press Club in Washington, or the Overseas Press Club in New York. Having served on both sides of the credibility gap (as well as being passing-familiar with the aforemen-

tioned saloons), I am obliged to suggest that both parties just might be right.

That there is some affinity between government and the press is shown by the ease with which Washington reporters step into government jobs and former officials become successful columnists. Moreover, viewpoints are remarkably interchangeable. Before he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Defense for Information, for example, my good friend Arthur Sylvester was manager of the Washington bureau of the *Newark News* with a twenty-five year reputation as an uncompromisingly capitol news-hound. In his official capacity, he soon found himself under vociferous attack by his former colleagues as the inventor of "managed news" and "the government's right to lie."

The tension between reporters and politicians is like the competition between pedestrians and motorists: you swear at the careless pedestrians up to the moment you find a parking space, then you curse the reckless drivers. And who is to say you are wrong in either instance? Former Secretary of Labor Willard Wirtz, in a speech at the Overseas Press Club, once suggested "A Pure Speech and Press Law" to afford the consumer the same protection against what goes into his head that he now receives on behalf of his stomach. Thus, speeches would include a note at the beginning:

"Not written by the speaker. Prepared for another occasion and altered to fit this audience. All classi-

cal references taken from Bartlett's Familiar Quotations or Elliott Hubbard's Scrap Book. All statistics conveniently adjusted . . . Shake head well after hearing."

Similarly, there would be a compulsory box at the head of next day's report of the speech reading something like this:

"Written by Jones, who wasn't present, from ticker item filed by Smith, who wasn't there either. All quotes from speech taken out of context. Reported crowd reactions, including pickets, dubbed in. Headline written by Shrudlu, who can count but cannot read English. Dangerous if taken seriously or without a large grain of salt."

Honest men who have served in what the Rand Corporation would call the "interface" between government and press must admit that the public often has ample grounds to wish a plague on both our houses. A few years ago, for example, the United States was engaged in certain military activities in Thailand related to the war in Vietnam which the government was—to say the least—not anxious to publicize. Word of the troop build-up, etc., did get to the American people as more and more correspondents filed dispatches from Bangkok. This tribute to the perspicacity of a free press would be somewhat more impressive, however, if the plethora of reports out of Thailand had not happened to coincide with the accompanying build-up there of wives and dependents of Vietnam-based correspondents, who were understandably anxious to file a firsthand report. In the same vein, Lyndon Johnson urged on by the Secret Service, may have been unduly secretive in his travel plans. But a surprising amount of the press protest over the secrecy resulted from irritation on the part of members of the White House press corps over their inability to decide whether to plan a Saturday night dinner party in Washington or to get out their golf clubs for a week-end in Austin.

The casting of stones, however, is traditionally reserved for those who are without sin. All that remains to me, I fear, is to offer a few hints about how to play this particular game for the benefit of those colleagues who insist on rushing in where angels fear to tread—a familiar compulsion for journalists of almost every clime and condition of servitude. For the purpose of this discussion we assume that you are about to accept a reporting job in Washington. (If you are already in the government and contemplate journalism as a post-war career, the basic lessons will be useful later. In the interim, they may even help you to protect yourself from your future colleagues.) Your first problem is to decide what kind of political journalist you intend to be. Although there is, naturally, a certain amount of overlap between categories, every Washington commentator must basically choose to be (a) a Spy, (b) a Thinker, or, (c) a Spokesman. There is also a fourth category, known as Washington humor, but, as Art Buchwald has pointed out, he and Joe Alsop have this specialty pretty-well locked up.

THE SPY

This is Washington's nearest approximation to what is known elsewhere as "straight-reporting." No one can make a living reporting "the facts" from Washington because the agency press releases are more than sufficient to fill every daily newspaper in the country three times over. What The Spy specializes in is inside information. He may get every bit of it from the mimeographed hand-outs, but no matter. The Spy's trade consists not so much in reporting the news as describing how the news was created, and by whom. This requires not so much leg-work as a fruitful imagination—and some occasional fast foot-work when a particular inside-story falls apart. An example of the type of foot-work most commonly encountered is what I like to think of as a post hoc riposte to a prediction gone wrong. On Monday, let us say, you have in strict confidence informed millions of readers that "after weeks of delay, caused principally by intense and occasionally strident debate within the Administration, the President has finally decided on a candidate to fill the long-vacant post of Assistant Secretary of State for Negotiating with the Pentagon. He is Congressman Joe Smith, Republican from Idaho." On Tuesday, the President announces the appointment. It is Rabbi Isadore Feinstein of Cleveland, Ohio.

The lead for your Wednesday column is automatic. "Outraged at what he called 'premature press leaks', an angry President yesterday abruptly cancelled plans to appoint Rep. Joe Smith (R), Idaho, to a key post in the State Department. White House Aides involved in the decision confide, off-the-record, that they themselves were taken by complete surprise by the President's action, which some attribute to an item which appeared in this column on Monday . . ." You may be pleasantly surprised at how many editors around the country are willing to pay for this sort of copy.

For the television commentator, the equivalent technique involves delivering his nightly commentary from the north lawn of the White House with the door to the west basement or the north portico serving as background. The copy may have been written at the office, or rewritten off the A.P. wire on the way to the White House, but that background guarantees authenticity. So cameramen, sound-men, and network correspondents will contrive to stand in the sleet and snow of a Washington winter or the steam-room humidity of a Washington summer to preserve that all-important symbol. There is technically no reason, of course, why the scene couldn't be painted on a backdrop in the studio, but this would doubtless violate the truth-in-broadcasting codes.

Lest I seem to be losing my impartiality and offering too much help to the working press and not enough to their mutual enemies, let us pause for a moment to look at the other side of this coin.

(Although if you are a public official worthy of your keep, the use which can be made of the phenomenon we've been describing is already abundantly clear to you.)

Suppose Congressman Joe Smith is, in fact, the last man in the world you'd like to see in that job. Suppose also that Joe has so much political clout in the Congress that he just must be considered. And suppose, finally, that the President has a well-known aversion to press announcements of his forthcoming appointments before he is ready to announce them. What would *you* do? (If you have to think before answering, you are wasting the taxpayers' money and should resign from the government.) It was the Duke of Wellington who, upon being approached by a stranger who greeted him with, "Mr. Smith, I believe," responded: "If you believe *that*, Sir, you will believe anything." For reasons beyond the control of everybody, I fear we must continue to apply that dictum to those innocent souls—be they reporters, editors, readers or viewers—who persist in believing that they are somehow getting "inside information" out of Washington. (There is reason to suspect that the same is true of foreign intelligence agencies who send *real* spies to Washington, but that is outside the scope of our essay.)

THE THINKER

It has been suggested that there is so little humorous copy out of Washington because there is nothing funny about what goes on there. A similar principle, perhaps, would explain why there are currently so few Washington newsmen who specialize in "thinking." Since Walter Lippmann ceased to write his regular column, an unfilled niche has existed. There is Scotty Reston, but it is hard to be simultaneously an independent thinker and the Voice of the *New York Times*. Joe Kraft and Dave Broder appear to have staked out claims, but at the moment this rich lode is essentially under-worked. Something should definitely be done—even if one does not entirely agree with Barry Goldwater's assertion that, without Walter, Senator Fulbright and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee are without a foreign policy. What are the qualifications of a Thinking Washington newsmen? To gain wide acceptance The Thinker must possess what we may call the three A's: Age, Apathy, and Arrogance.

Age, popularly associated with wisdom, is hard to acquire except through patience. You can bleach your hair and walk with a scholarly stoop, but—unless you were born abroad in a country which has since gone out of business—the birth registrars and the obit writers will sooner or later discover your secret. We must reluctantly conclude, therefore, that Thinker is no job for the beginner. He will find it advisable to begin as a Spy and work his way up slowly, possibly with a short stint as Spokesman (q.v.) in between.

Apathy, to The Thinker, is the proper response to the hysteria of the times—such as nuclear missiles in Cuba or people burning down forty square blocks of Washington. This kind of thing is for night city editors and cub reporters. It is The Thinker's job to sit in a cork-lined room with a copy of Walter Pater, the works of Macaulay, and a set of the Great Books, meditating about what it all means. Any insights he shares with the rest of us should be dispensed with obvious reluctance, resulting from the unfortunate need to earn a little money for eating. We should all feel sorry that such a man is forced to waste precious time on such ignoble endeavors as meeting a deadline.

The Thinking Washington correspondent's chief problem is *style*. I once knew a young reporter whose ambition, he said, was "to think like Walter Lippmann and write like Murray Kempton." There could hardly be a more magnificent step in the wrong direction. For The Thinker, true success consists in predictions reminiscent of the more obscure prophecies of the Delphic Oracle, using all the literary devices of antiquity—especially the Gordian knot. As a Thinker, you will be expected to pick up where The Spy leaves off. Thus, since your colleague has established the facts of the Congressman vs. the Rabbi embroglio, it will be your business to observe:

"The continuing crises of decision within the present Administration, not to mention the ambivalence within the President's own mind—the existence of which has become increasingly suspected and deplored by thoughtful observers—has finally surfaced in the growing controversy over White House handling of the extremely delicate competition for a high government post between partisans of a powerful Congressman and a distinguished member of the clergy; indeed, there are those who believe that, thanks to staff indecisiveness and Presidential ambivalence, there has now been introduced into an already explosive situation, tragically and gratuitously, a fundamental Constitutional question going to the heart of the First amendment concerning separation of Church and State."

That lead is, I confess, a pale imitation of what would be produced by a real professional, but it does contain the essential elements: it is all one sentence and tells us absolutely nothing of substance, including the true opinions of the author.

Arrogance, the third A, represents The Thinker's principle advantage in Washington: his insulation from the game of Who Spoke to the President Last? To The Spy or The Spokesman, non-access to the President is a serious handicap which must be overcome by a continuous fox-trot of fast footwork; to The Thinker, never speaking to the President can be a positive advantage. In fact, one of the principle requirements of a successful Thinker is the arrogance to refuse phone calls from the President of the United States, and to turn down all invitations to White House receptions. A Dean of the profession ultimately moved out of Washington, leaving behind a farewell letter explaining that his many friendships among Washington

officialdom, including the President, had begun to compromise his objectivity. That is the only way to play it—but, as previously noted, it is not a game for the neophyte.

THE SPOKESMAN

The final category is a Washington specialization which is at once the easiest to perform, the hardest to enter, and the most insecure. It consists of being—entirely by rumor—the informal Spokesman for the Establishment. In other words, combining in one person the function traditionally performed by *The Times* of London for the government over there, and which used to be performed by the *New York Times* for the government over here.

In modern Washington, being Spokesman for the Establishment means essentially "Having the President's Ear." It implies a first-name relationship with the Chief Executive which can only result from long friendship. Charles Bartlett had it during the Kennedy administration and, to a somewhat lesser extent, William S. White in the Johnson administration. Bartlett's claim arose from the widely held belief that he was the man who introduced John Kennedy to Jacqueline; White's from the fact that he and LBJ were the same age and immigrated from Texas to Washington together. A normal lead for The Spokesman will begin:

"Despite those who claim to know best, including the White House staff and key members of the Cabinet, the President has no intention of intervening in the current three-way dispute between the State Department and the Pentagon on one hand, and the House Armed Services Committee on the other. Indeed, the President has many private reservations about the efficacy of both his Secretary of State and his Secretary of Defense. If the controversy continues, some observers would not be surprised to see a reshuffling of the cabinet..."

The voice is Jacob's, but the hand is the hand of Esau. The danger is that Esau may withdraw his hand at any moment—and where does that leave Jacob? It was suggested to John Kennedy at a White House press conference that Mr. Bartlett's article in the *Saturday Evening Post* was being given undue weight because of his presumed friendship with the President, and what did Mr. Kennedy intend to do about that? (An example, incidentally, of the friendship and camaraderie which may be expected from one's journalistic colleagues in Washington.) President Kennedy bailed out Mr. Bartlett by saying that the White House is a very poor place to make friends and that he intended to keep the ones he already had. But suppose he had said, instead, "Who is Charles Bartlett?"

To be a Spokesman is, in short, to add additional insecurity to an already insecure profession. Furthermore, it requires a close relationship with the incumbent prior to his becoming the Maximum Leader—and this depends on luck. I cannot recom-

mend it. Reference was made earlier to the ease with which Washington newsmen drift into government, and government officials become syndicated columnists. If you are contemplating a Washington career, either in or out of government, you would do well to study these transactions. However mysterious they may seem—how did Hearst ever get an important man like that? Why would a crusading reporter sell-out to the Pentagon?—such transformations really come down to money. In an address to the Newspaper Publishers Association, President Kennedy once said:

"You may remember that in 1851 the New York Herald Tribune, under the sponsorship and publishing of Horace Greeley, employed as its London correspondent an obscure journalist by the name of Karl Marx.

We are told that foreign correspondent Marx, stone broke, and with a family ill and undernourished, constantly appealed to Greeley and Managing Editor Charles Dana for an increase in his munificent salary of \$5 per installment, a salary which he and Engels ungratefully labeled as the 'lousiest petty bourgeois cheating.'

But when all his financial appeals were refused, Marx looked around for other means of livelihood and fame, eventually terminating his relationship with the Tribune and devoting his talents full time to the cause that would bequeath to the world the seeds of Leninism, Stalinism, revolution and the cold war.

If only this capitalistic New York newspaper had treated him more kindly; if only Marx had remained a foreign correspondent, history might have been different. And I hope all publishers will bear this lesson in mind the next time they receive a poverty-stricken appeal for a small increase in the expense account from an obscure newspaper man."

There is no evidence that any publisher then present took positive action as a result of the President's remarks. Consequently, every non-syndicated reporter may at any time be seduced away from the practice of journalism by an invitation to become Assistant Secretary of Something-or-other at a salary increase of five to ten thousand dollars. Similarly, medium-level officials may be bought by the syndicate for an even larger increment of income. As professionals, and citizens, we should no doubt deplore all this. As working men trying to make a living, we should at least understand how the system works.

Every man to his own conscience. And to make the medicine go down, I might finally suggest that both officialdom and pressdom *do* intend to exaggerate their own importance. As James Bryce wrote back in 1893, in answer to the American myth of why "the best men do not go into politics":

"No more than in Euope has any upright man been written down, for though the American press is unsparing, the American people are shrewd, and sometimes believe too little rather than too much evil of a man whom the press assails."

Bottom line, one would have to say that in Washington, in government, or the press corps, we are loyal Americans all—and we deserve each other. ♦

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Which Will Be the "Next Vietnam"?

By CARL T. ROWAN

IN THAILAND's remote northern province of Chiang Rai, a group of communist-led Meo tribesmen slip down out of the hills to attack a border police station. They kill 15 men, burn the station, and take 100 prisoners. In the same month, in the same area, a group of blue-clad men and women recite the sayings of Mao Tse-tung.

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In the same area, the Meo tribesmen, and to plunder the countryside.

In Malaysia, security police lurk in the shadows of an abandoned pineapple estate. They watch in amaze-

ment as a group of blue-clad men and women recite the sayings of Mao Tse-tung. In Vietnam, the number of incidents like these raises some somber questions:

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